

THE HISTORY
OF
P. CORNELIUS TACITUS.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES, CRITICAL AND
EXPLANATORY.

BY

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"Exsequi sententias haud institui nisi insignes per honestum aut notabili dedecore,
quod præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque
ex posteritate et infamia metus sit."—TACITUS, *Annals*, iii. 65.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

IN this translation I have endeavoured to reproduce somewhat of the pregnant brevity of the original, and if my readers think that excessive terseness sometimes tends to obscurity of expression, I trust that they may accord their indulgence to the conscientious endeavour of one who seeks, however imperfectly, to limn the lineaments of a great antique or catch the echo of a classic voice.

The modern counterpart of Cornelius Tacitus is undoubtedly Thomas Carlyle. In both we find the same burning love of truth, the same scorn for sham and falsehood, the same contempt for meanness and hypocrisy, the same poetical imagination, the same philosophical reflectiveness, and, above all, the same condensed and pregnant style. Of both we may say, "*Le style c'est l'homme.*"

Whoever studies Tacitus faithfully, and seeks to translate him with some regard to the condensation of the original, must find, will he, nill he, Carlyle coming out through the tips of his fingers.

The Latin language, however, is naturally terser than our own, and in the hands of a master of brevity, like the great historian, will defy all attempts to reproduce the marvellous compactness of the original. All I can hope for, therefore, is to approximate, as closely as the characteristics of different languages will permit, to some-

thing like the outline of the great Roman model. I am fully conscious of manifold deficiencies, and can but trust to the generous sympathy of my readers.

This translation is based on the incomparable edition of Carl Meiser, now in course of publication by Messrs. Calvary of Berlin. The first book of the *History* made its appearance in the year 1884, and up to the present the learned editor has only completed the third book. This delay, however, is amply compensated for by the rare scholarship, profound erudition, and singular acumen of the great German critic. Meiser has so far minutely collated the Medicean manuscript, as well as the secondary Florentine copies *a* and *b*. Whenever I have ventured to differ from this great critic, I have called the reader's attention to the divergence in the notes at the foot of my translation. It may be interesting to mention here that Meiser is essentially a conservative critic, never departing from the manuscript authority until thoroughly satisfied that a change is absolutely necessary.

Almost equally great are my obligations to Dr. Carl Heræus, but on different grounds. The value of the edition of Heræus consists not so much in his textual criticism as in his lucid explanations of the meaning of the author. His comprehensive knowledge of the Latin poets and historians has rendered his commentary indispensable to those who wish to fathom the meaning of Tacitus. On the other hand, his emendations are often quite unjustifiable and at variance with the canons of modern criticism.

Of English editions, Mr. W. A. Spooner's very full commentary has been of very great assistance to me, especially in matters of archæology, history, geography, and the topography of the various scenes of action

described by Tacitus; while Mr. A. D. Godley's work has supplied me with many crisp and epigrammatic renderings, which have already enhanced the reputation of the learned author.

I have carefully studied the excellent translation of Messrs. Church and Brodribb, which, as well as the elegant French version of Louandre, has been of great use and assistance to me. However, as already pointed out, the object of the present translation is somewhat different from that which inspired the version of the English scholars.

I have sought to explain every point of difficulty in my notes, and have also commented fully on questions of textual criticism.

In the introduction, I have discussed the style of Tacitus, his political lessons, and the principal difficulties in the interpretation of the first and second books of the *History*.

It is with extreme pleasure that I acknowledge my great obligations to Professor R. Y. Tyrrell, Regius Professor of Greek, Trinity College, Dublin, for his invaluable suggestions and kindly sympathy.

My friend, Sir Edward Sullivan, whose tastes, like those of his distinguished father, the late Lord Chancellor of Ireland, have ever inclined him to the pursuit of classical learning, has lent me much generous assistance; and my friend, Mr. F. Pollock Hamilton, sometime scholar of Jesus College, Cambridge, has encouraged my work by a careful examination of the translation.

I cannot omit to mention the great aid I have received in the revision of these pages from the ripe scholarship of Mr. John Murray.

I have to express my acknowledgments to the gentle-

men who read the proof-sheets for Messrs. William Clowes and Sons, Limited, with great care and perfect exactitude.

Finally, whatever may be the shortcomings of this work—and of those shortcomings I am fully conscious—still I make bold enough to dedicate it, with all its imperfections, to one whose ardent love of literature and devotion to the best interests of true learning have endeared him to the hearts of a noble and generous profession.

42, HARCOURT STREET, DUBLIN,

June, MDCCCXCII.

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INTRODUCTION.

I. THE STYLE OF TACITUS.

ONE of the most startling truths in the annals of literature is of itself sufficient to invest the study of classical antiquity with profound and philosophical interest. The optimist may contend that the imagination of man has expanded with his moral development, and that the transcendent genius of Shakespeare illuminates our modern field of vision with a radiance ineffable and unsurpassed. And yet it is not in modern nor in mediæval times that we must seek for models of the great art and science of tracing the progress of the human race, and deducing from the records of the past lessons and precepts for man's guidance in the future. The philosophy of history has found its two greatest exponents in the profundity of Thucydides and the intellectual keenness of Tacitus. The one, in his history of the Peloponnesian war, has probed all the springs and fountains of human motives and actions; the other never slumbers, but with his piercing glance fathoms the hearts of princes. The Athenian, majestic and impassive, surveys from the tower of wisdom the march of events and the conflict of mighty interests; the Roman limns with subtle hand the darkest and deepest passions in the breast of man.

There is, however, one point of extraordinary difference between Thucydides and Tacitus. Thucydides wrote his

history when the language of Greek prose was in a crude and unformed state. The result is extremely interesting. The genius of the great historian was entirely in advance of the linguistic conditions surrounding it. Hence the student of Thucydides at once perceives that the ordinary structure of the ordinary sentences of that time was wholly inadequate to express new developments of historical, political, and philosophic thought. Nor is this a mere hypothesis. It is a proposition capable of absolute demonstration. The ordinary narrative of Thucydides is easy and simple in the extreme, and continues its natural flow as long as the linguistic forms and structures of that period are capable of expressing the normal ideas of descriptive prose. But when the great historian enters upon a psychological analysis, as in his immortal exposition of the effects of a great catastrophe—like the plague at Athens—upon the moral and social relations of citizens, or discusses the subtle agencies of political combinations and complications in his wonderful speeches, then we see genius in advance of its age, wrestling with the difficulties and striving to burst the fetters of the old-fashioned language of primitive simplicity.

“The narrative,” says Professor Jowett, in the introduction to his Thucydides (p. xiv.), “is natural and simple, in the highest degree picturesque and dramatic, often deeply pathetic by its very severity, generally intelligible, and only getting into a tangle when attempting to express political and philosophical reflections, as in the Corcyraean sedition. He who considers that Thucydides was a great genius writing in an ante-grammatical age, when logic was just beginning to be cultivated, who had thoughts far beyond his contemporaries, and who had great difficulty in the arrangement and expression of them, who is

anxious but not always able to escape tautology, will not be surprised at his personifications, at his confusion of negatives and affirmatives, of consequents and antecedents, at his imperfect antitheses and involved parentheses, at his employment of the participle to express abstract ideas in the making, at his substitution of one construction for another, at his repetition of a word, or unmeaning alteration of it for the sake of variety, at his over-logical form, at his forgetfulness of the beginning of a sentence before he arrives at the end of it. The solecisms of which he is supposed to be guilty are the natural phenomena of a language in a time of transition; and though not always, as Poppo maintains, common to other Greek writers, yet having some analogy by which they may be defended. They are also to be ascribed to a strong individuality, which subtilizes, which rationalizes, which concentrates, which crowds the use of words, which thinks more than it can express (*ψελλιζομένῳ γὰρ εἶκε*)."

It will be thus seen that the obscurity of Thucydides is in a great measure due to the crude conditions of language incapable of expressing ideas far in advance of existing formulas.

The very opposite is the case with Tacitus. The most brilliant and accomplished writer of the preceding age had given the stamp of academic grace to the Latin tongue. Cicero had moulded the language of Rome into the very perfection of form, and had made it plastic to express every phase of thought and shade of meaning. Under his hand it had become a mighty instrument of endless variety and compass, ready to expand to the requirements of profound thought or fervid eloquence. And yet we find Tacitus quite as obscure as Thucydides, with this difference—that whereas Thucydides is only

occasionally obscure, and then simply by reason of a crude and imperfect condition of language, Tacitus is perpetually dark, and that too from choice, and not of necessity. Why is this? His contemporaries, Pliny and Suetonius, Juvenal and Martial, are comparatively easy. There can be but one answer. His style represents his intense individuality, and to no human being does the French aphorism apply with greater force, "*Le style c'est l'homme.*" The contrast is highly instructive. On the one hand, we have Thucydides *forced* into obscurity by imperfect forms of language; while, on the other hand, we find Tacitus *electing* darkness of expression despite the brightness and lucidity of the Ciceronian prose. We have observed already that this election represents the intense individuality of Tacitus. What is that individuality? Undoubtedly it is the intense individuality of art—of the artistic nature; for Tacitus was a supreme artist. He has designedly chosen the condensed and obscure form of composition for greater play of light and shade, and with the view of bringing out his power of antithesis and portrait-painting. In him we recognize a Roman Rembrandt, who limns deep shadows and dim lights and fills our minds with the sense of eternal character and living force.

And what a portrait-gallery reveals itself upon his page! We start as we catch, lowering from the canvas, the dark and gloomy features of Tiberius Cæsar—the crafty, treacherous voluptuary of Capri; the master of dissimulation and deceit, whose heart, when life was flickering out and away, retained to the last gasp the spirit of falsehood: "Jam Tiberium corpus, jam vires, nondum dissimulatio deserebat."¹ Scarcely less wonderful

¹ *Annals*, vi. 50.

is the vision of Nero, the mad and ruthless artist, singing on the stage at Naples,¹ chanting the burning of Troy while Rome was in flames,² diverting suspicion from himself to the poor Christians,³ murdering the gentle Octavia, lavishing imperial favour on the Pompadour of Rome—the reckless Poppæa,⁴ and doing to death the heroic philosopher, Thræsea Pætus.”⁵ But the master has light as well as shade, and the mind is relieved from the weight of gloom by the bright figure of Thræsea, defying the terrors of the mad tyrant, and rising to the height of that great argument of liberty and truth.

But when we pass to the *History*, the immediate subject of this little book, the most extraordinary characteristic of its numerous delineations is, that every portrait is so individualized that not even the most obtuse observer can mistake any part of a single picture for any portion of another. If the lines are not as broad and deep as in the *Annals*, they possess the almost equally attractive feature of marvellous distinctness of colour and of treatment, standing out with a clearness and a lucidity not easily to be effaced from any mind that has received their impression. This peculiarity is the more remarkable and admirable by reason of the very great number of character-sketches in the *History*. The figures of emperors, generals, statesmen, senators, and women of rank, all stand apart, individualized and characterized by their several peculiarities and idiosyncracies. In Galba we see the veteran soldier and rigid martinet, avaricious and

¹ *Annals*, xv. 33.

² *Ibid.*, xv. 39.

³ *Ibid.*, xv. 44. Mr. Furneaux most excellently points out that Tacitus himself acquits the Christians by the very language he employs: “*subdidit reos.*”

⁴ *Ibid.*, xiv. 60–64.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xvi. 21–33.

austere, just in his rough way, an admirable subordinate officer, giving promise of great things, but quite unequal to the burden of his imperial rôle. The world had stamped him Cæsar, had he ne'er played Cæsar's part.¹ What a contrast is Otho, the gay voluptuary, the effeminate fop, suddenly roused from his trance of pleasure by the supreme danger of the moment, and dying like a hero to avert the horrors of civil war!² And then comes the degraded gourmand,³ Vitellius, like one of Circe's swine, yet, like all true pictures, half redeemed by love of mother, wife, and child.⁴ Now we rise into a higher region and behold Vespasian, but for his avarice quite a warrior of old;⁵ and the serene Titus, radiant in beauty, majestic in form, of limitless range of genius.⁶ Ha! who is this? Whose the historic blush? Who bears the crimson on that evil face? Who wears the scarlet as a mask 'gainst modesty itself? Who can miss, who can mistake, the fell tyrant, Domitian? Yes! we see the "crebra oris confusio."⁷ Yes! we shrink back from the "sævus ille voltus et rubor quo se contra pudorem muniebat."⁸ No less various and distinct are the generals before us. We behold, as if on the very field of battle, the vain-glorious and treacherous Cæcina;⁹ the licentious and sordid Fabius Valens;¹⁰ the sage and wary Suetonius Paulinus;¹¹ Marius Celsus,¹² the soul of honour; Antonius Primus,¹³ the free-lance; and last, but not least, a knight-errant, an ancient Earl of Peterborough, fired by restless ambition, spurred by the spirit of change and adventure, caring nought for danger's prizes, but only for danger itself—Cornelius Fuscus:¹⁴

¹ *Hist.*, i. 49.² *Ibid.*, i. 30; ii. 46-49.³ *Ibid.*, ii. 87, 95.⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 64, 89.⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 5.⁶ *Ibid.*, ii. 1.⁷ *Ibid.*, iv. 40.⁸ *Agricola*, xlv.; Suetonius, *Domitian*, xviii.⁹ *Hist.*, i. 56; ii. 20, 99, 100.¹⁰ *Ibid.*, i. 66.¹¹ *Ibid.*, ii. 25.¹² *Ibid.*, i. 71.¹³ *Ibid.*, ii. 86.¹⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 86.

“Et qui vulturibus servabat viscera Dacis
Fuscus marmorea meditatatus prœlia villa.”¹

Vinius, the minister of Galba ; Mucian, the vizier of Vespasian, both had chequered² careers, but oh, how different ! Vinius, daring, crafty, resolute, facile for good or evil, but of the earth earthy, finally drawn down into the abysm !³ Mucian had all the versatility of a Buckingham, but he had ballast to boot. If he was sensual in repose, still his virtues shone in action.⁴ Great difficulties evoked his genius, and the hazards of the hour drew forth his wonderful resourcefulness.⁵ His eloquence and statecraft bore him aloft as the real founder of the Flavian dynasty.⁶ In the Senate, too, amid a host of flatterers, hypocrites, and informers, we catch the last gleam of expiring patriotism. The fire still flickers near its ancient shrine, and we start when Helvidius Priscus, son-in-law of Thræsea Pætus, beards the lion in his den.⁷ Right worthily does the kinsman of Thræsea, the Cato of the empire,⁸ uphold the sacred cause of freedom, and light up the shadows of the gloomy canvas :

“Quale coronati Thræsea Helvidiusque bibebant
Brutorum et Cassi natalibus.”⁹

No less subtle is the varied delineation of the female figures on the scene. The abandoned profligacy of Messalina is quite distinct from the voluptuous grace of Poppæa, mistress of Nero, secret lover of Otho,¹⁰ enthusiastic votary of the Jewish worship.¹¹ Standing apart from both is the

¹ Juvenal, iv. 111, 112.

² i. 48 ; i. 10.

³ i. 48.

⁴ i. 10.

⁵ ii. 76-84.

⁶ ii. 5, 76, 77.

⁷ ii. 91.

⁸ “*Der Cato der Kaiserzeit*” (Heræus).

⁹ Juvenal, v. 36.

¹⁰ *Annals*, xiii. 45.

¹¹ Mr. Furneaux refers to Josephus, *Ant.*, xx. 8, 11, who terms her θεοσεβής (see Furneaux, ii. 579).

marvellous Calvia Crispinilla, who, after corrupting Nero's mind, inciting Clodius Macer to insurrection, plotting famine against the Roman people, afterwards became very popular when she married a consular, and culminated in wealth and childlessness.¹ But what a delightful picture is presented in the gentle, loving, modest wife of Vitellius, Galeria,² and in his mother, Sextilia, the lady of the old school³ (*antiqui moris*), who kept aloof from Roman gaieties, and only thought of the sorrows of her house and the impending ruin of her boy, Vitellius! Then we are taken apart to catch a reverential glimpse of the mystic Batavian priestess, Veleda, half druidess, half nun, secluded in her lofty tower, far aloof from vulgar gaze.⁴

The preceding slender sketch does not for a moment profess to aim at anything like completeness, but simply seeks to trace in outline the marvellous distinctness and individuality of the characters in the *History*. As already pointed out, the lines in the *Annals* are broader, deeper, and more heroic, but peculiar delicacy of treatment and colouring is the feature of the *History*.


But, however delightful this Rembrandtesque study of individual characters may be, a still more profound, a yet nobler study has called into play the marvellous perceptions of Tacitus. He has read us, if I mistake not, great and true political lessons for future guidance, and on his luminous page there dwell eternal precepts of political justice and political truth. For never has a loftier spirit, never a truer soul, never a more penetrating intellect, communed with the past and drawn from the deep fountains of historical philosophy great draughts of wisdom for the nourishment of humanity. And never was there a field more suited for philosophical inquiry

¹ i. 73.² ii. 64.³ ii. 64, 89.⁴ iv. 65.

than the dreadful subject of the *History*. The very chaos of discord renders up to the historian marvellous examples of the outcome of certain political conditions ; nor could the most enthusiastic student of politics desire a better or a surer opportunity for observing more signal instances of cause and effect. We therefore propose to discuss in this introduction the nature of the political lessons in the *History* of Tacitus, reserving for our concluding remarks the consideration of the various difficulties arising out of the construction and interpretation of the language of the historian.

II. THE POLITICAL LESSONS OF TACITUS.

It is but natural that we should ask two questions at the outset of our inquiry. Was the historian impartial? What was his own school of politics? It is our most firm belief that Tacitus was true to the prime condition and first function of philosophical history. We are thoroughly assured of his truth and of his profound sense of responsibility. Nor do we rely merely on his own solemn and impressive declarations of impartiality, but likewise on clear and convincing testimony from without. He has told us, in his own memorable words, that he stands indifferent to Galba, Otho, and Vitellius,¹ and has solemnly reminded us that, although advanced by Vespasian, promoted by Titus, and exalted by Domitian, still he is bound in honour to write without prejudice.² We ourselves are thoroughly assured of this



¹ "Mihi Galba, Otho, Vitellius nec beneficio nec injuria cogniti" (*Hist.*, i. 1).

² "Sed incorruptam fidem professis neque amore quisquam et sine odio dicendus est" (*ibid.*, i. 1).

solemn profession of good faith. Let us now see how the evidence of contemporary writers supports our view, and whether there be sufficient proof to refute and rebut the imputations cast upon the historical reputation of Tacitus by that champion of Cæsarism, Theodor Mommsen.¹ Mommsen has attempted to challenge and controvert the entire description given by Tacitus of the last hours of Otho, and completely to gainsay the motives assigned by the historian as inspiring the self-immolation and self-sacrifice of that unhappy prince. He contends that, after the battle of Bedriacum, Otho's generals, Marius Celsus, Annius Gallus, and Titianus, held a council of war, and, without consulting Otho, entered into negotiations with Cæcina, to whom they capitulated, with all their forces, at Bedriacum; that, consequently, Otho had no alternative save an ignominious and degrading death, and in that way was driven to suicide; and that Tacitus, with that love of antithesis which captivated the rhetoricians of that time, sacrificed the spirit of truth in order to gratify his taste for the picturesque and the sensational. In our belief, the object of Mommsen is not so much to determine whether or no a few redeeming traits lit up the gloomy environment of the unhappy emperor, as to discredit the general reputation of Tacitus, in whom the German critic recognizes the most powerful adversary of Cæsarism, and the most vivid exponent of Roman conservative republicanism.

According to the narrative of Tacitus, Otho had retired to Bresello² (*Brixellum*), and there awaited the decisive issue of the battle of Bedriacum. After the defeat of the Othonianist troops in that memorable engagement,³ the Prætorian soldiers, who had accompanied

¹ Mommsen, *Hermes*, iv.

² ii. 33.

³ ii. 42-44.

the emperor to Bresello under their captain Plotius Firmus, earnestly besought¹ Otho to continue the struggle, especially as the three legions² from Mœsia were hurrying up and were already at Aglar,³ as announced by their scouts. Undoubtedly the full strength of three fresh legions, united with the Prætorians under the devoted Plotius Firmus, would have enabled Otho to protract, if not to win, the struggle. However, according to the narrative of Tacitus, Otho determined to stay the horrors of civil war even at the price of his own life, and, after a sublime speech,⁴ in which he announced his determination to save countless lives by the sacrifice of his own, immolated himself at the shrine of patriotic self-devotion.⁵ Such is the account of our historian, and such was the impression in Rome, where the court poet Martial thus depicts the scene :⁶

“Cum dubitaret adhuc belli civilis Enyo,
 Forsitan et posset vincere mollis Otho,
 Damnavit multo staturum sanguine Martem,
 Et fodit certa pectora nuda manu.
 Sit Cato dum vivit sane vel Cæsare major,
 Dum moritur numquid major Othone fuit ? ”

We venture to submit the following translation :—

“When Civil War's fell Fury poised her gage,
 And still soft Otho might victorious rest ;
 His soul quick spurning bloody Mars his wage,
 He smote with fatal hand his naked breast.
 In life let Cato Cæsar's self dethrone,
 But Otho's death with Cato's shares the crown.”

It will be thus seen that the beautiful lines of Martial

¹ ii. 46.

² III. Gallica, VII. Claudiana, VIII. Augusta.

³ *Aglar*—Aquileia, in Venetia.

⁴ ii. 47.

⁵ ii. 48, 49.

⁶ Martial, vi. 32.

are in absolute accord with the vivid narrative of Tacitus. But there is further corroboration, and that of the most remarkable character. Suetonius not only bears out the descriptions of Tacitus and Martial, but informs us that his (Suetonius') father served as a plebeian tribune of the Thirteenth Legion under Otho, and his father's narrative is of itself sufficient to convince us of the truth and accuracy of our historian. We will let the simple story of Suetonius speak for itself :

“Ac statim moriendi impetum cepit, ut multi nec frustra opinantur, *magis pudore ne tanto rerum hominumque periculo dominationem sibi asserere perseveraret, quam desperatione ulla aut diffidentia copiarum*; quippe residuis integrisque etiam nunc quas secum ad secundos casus detinuerat, et supervenientibus aliis e Dalmatia Pannoniaque et Mœsia, ne victis quidem adeo afflictis ut non in ultionem ignominiae quidvis discriminis ultro et vel solae subirent.”¹

X. “*Interfuit huic bello pater meus Suetonius Lætus, tertiæ decimæ legionis tribunus angusticlavius. Is mox referre crebro solebat, Othonem etiam privatum usque adeo detestatum civilia arma, ut memorante quodam inter epulas de Cassi Brutique exitu cohorrerit; nec concursurum cum Galba fuisse, nisi confideret sine bello rem transigi posse; tunc ad despiciendam vitam exemplo manipularis militis concitatum, qui cum cladem exercitus nuntiaret nec cuiquam fidem faceret, ac nunc mendaci nunc timoris quasi fugisset ex acie argueretur, gladio ante pedes ejus incubuerit. Hoc viso proclamasse eum aiebat, non amplius se in periculum talis tamque bene meritos conjecturum.*”²

Thus we have Suetonius confirming Tacitus and

¹ Suetonius, *Otho*, ix. 15.

² *Ibid.*, x.

Martial in every detail, and this is all the more interesting from the fact that, in his subsequent description of the death-scene,¹ Suetonius tallies with our author in the most minute circumstances.

Now, Mommsen has based his attack on a single chapter in Plutarch's life of Otho. (cap. xiii.), contending from it that Otho had really no alternative save ignominious execution at the hands of Vitellius. Before setting out that chapter, it is necessary to apprise the reader that Plutarch gives the same version of the last speech of Otho as do both Tacitus and Suetonius, attributes to him the same motives for his death, and pictures the very same details of his last moments. We shall have occasion to refer to this later on. Meanwhile let us place before the reader the excellent translation of the thirteenth chapter by Messrs. Stewart and Long: "Of the generals, neither Proculus nor Paulinus dared to return with their men, but went off another way, fearing the soldiers, who already began to throw the blame of their defeat upon the generals. Annius Gallus assumed the command of the soldiers as they assembled in the town of Bedriacum, and encouraged them by assurances that the battle had been a drawn one, and that in many cases they had beaten the enemy. Marius Celsus called a meeting of the generals, and bade them take measures for the common good. He said that, after so great a disaster and so much slaughter of their countrymen, not even Otho himself, if he were a right-thinking man, would wish to make any further trial of fortune; since even Cato and Scipio, although they fought in defence of the liberty of Rome, were blamed for having wasted the lives of many brave men in Africa by not yielding to Cæsar immediately after the

¹ Suetonius, *Otho*, xi.

battle of Pharsalia. All men, he urged, are equally liable to the caprices of fortune ; but they have the advantage, even when defeated, of being able to form wise resolutions. By this reasoning Celsus convinced the generals ; and when, on trying the temper of the soldiers, they found them desirous of peace, and Titianus himself bade them begin negotiations for agreement, Celsus and Gallus determined to go and discuss the matter with Cæcina and Valens. On their way they were met by some centurions, who informed them that Vitellius' army was already advancing, and that they had been sent on before by their generals to arrange terms of peace. Celsus spoke with approval of their mission, and bade them return and conduct him to Cæcina. It happened that when they drew near the army, Celsus was like to have lost his life ; for the cavalry who formed the advance-guard were the same who had been defeated in the ambushade, and when they saw Celsus approaching, they set up a shout of rage and rode towards him. However, the centurions stood before Celsus and kept them back ; and, as the other officers called to them to spare him, Cæcina perceived that some disturbance was taking place, and rode up. He quickly repressed the disorderly movement of the cavalry, greeted Celsus affectionately, and proceeded with him to Bedriacum. Meanwhile Titianus had repented of having sent the embassy. He manned the walls of the camp with those soldiers who had recovered their spirits, and was encouraging the rest to fight. However, when Cæcina rode up and held out his hand, no one resisted him, but some of the soldiers greeted his troops from the walls, and others opened the gates, came out, and mingled with the new-comers. No violence was done to any one, but they all fraternized and shook

each other by the hand, swore fealty to Vitellius, and joined his army."

Now, it is on this chapter of Plutarch, and this chapter alone, that Mommsen (in *Hermes*, iv.) has based his attack on the veracity of Tacitus, and has contended that Otho had no choice save suicide or an ignominious and degrading death; that his sole motive for suicide was to escape torture and disgrace, and that he never sought by his death to stay civil war or avert further bloodshed. Mommsen further charges Tacitus with perverting the truth in order to gratify his taste for antithesis and rhetorical effect, and regards the lofty motives ascribed to Otho by the historian as mere fiction and word-painting. ✓

Let us see what this thirteenth chapter amounts to, assuming that every word in it is true. After the defeat at Bedriacum, Marius Celsus persuades the other generals that all further resistance is hopeless, and induces them to negotiate for terms with Valens and Cæcina. Cæcina receives Marius Celsus, and forthwith proceeds with him to Bedriacum, where, after an abortive attempt by Titianus to withdraw from the negotiations, the Othonianist soldiery fraternize with the Vitellianists, open the gates, admit Cæcina, and join the army of Vitellius. Now, assuming that all this was true, let us see what Mommsen has overlooked. He has either overlooked or deliberately and perversely omitted to consider the conjoint statement of both Tacitus (ii. 33) that, when Otho, prior to the battle of Bedriacum, retired to Bresello (*Brixellum*), the flower of his own army accompanied him thither; so that, after the defeat at Bedriacum, the troops with Otho at Bresello were quite as strong as his defeated army at

Bedriacum, and this altogether apart from the three fresh legions close at hand from Moesia, and the contingents from Dalmatia and Pannonia following behind them. Thus Tacitus (ii. 33) tells us: "*Namque et cum ipso prætoriarum cohortium et speculatorum equitumque valida manus discessit et remanentium fractus animus.*" To the same effect is Plutarch himself, as translated by Messrs. Stewart and Long, cap. x.: "After the council Otho again retired to Brixellum (Bresello). This was a mistake, not only because the army would have fought with greater zeal and discipline when under the eye of the emperor, but because, *by taking away the best and most loyal troops, both of cavalry and infantry, to act as his body-guard*, he made his army like a spear which has lost its steel point."

Thus, according to Plutarch himself, the better portion of Otho's army was with him at Bresello, and, consequently, had Otho persisted and effected a junction with the three fresh legions from Moesia, hurrying to meet him and already at Aglar (*Aquileia*), there can be no reasonable doubt but that a protracted struggle would have ensued.

We have already referred to the conjoint testimony of Tacitus, Martial, and Suetonius, both as to the motive and the manner of Otho's death, but no doubt the reader will be surprised to find that Plutarch's version of Otho's last speech, as well as his description of the last moments of that unfortunate prince, still further strengthens the position of our author against the iniquitous attack of Mommsen. In his fifteenth chapter, as translated by Messrs. Stewart and Long, Plutarch records the memorable words of Otho: "If I am worthy to be an emperor of Rome, *I ought not to grudge my life to my country.*

I am aware that our enemy's victory is not decisive or crushing. News has reached me that the Mæstian legions have already reached the Adriatic, and are not many days' march distant. Asia, Syria, Egypt, and the army engaged with the Jews, are all on our side, while we have in our power both the Senate and the wives and children of our enemy. But we are not defending Italy from Hannibal, or Pyrrhus, or the Cimbri, but Romans are fighting against Romans, and our native land will suffer equally whichever side is victorious, for she must lose what the conqueror gains. Believe me, I pray you, that it is more to my honour to die than to reign; for I cannot imagine that, if victorious, I could do anything which would benefit the Romans so much as I can by giving my life to obtain peace and concord, and to save Italy from seeing another day such as this."

It will be thus seen that Mommsen's attack on the veracity of the historian completely breaks down, and is only another proof, if proof be wanting, of the literary iniquity of supporting preconceived opinions by distorting facts and perverting history to the great detriment of philosophical inquiry.

We must now ask ourselves, What was the political school of Tacitus? The answer involves most interesting considerations. It is absolutely necessary to clear the ground by a few preliminary explanations. Our readers must bear in mind that the Republican party were the Conservatives of Rome. The most glorious days for Rome were the days of her Republic. That Republic represented all that was best in her past history. It had moulded the Roman character into a majestic type; it had schooled Rome's children in the Roman virtues of austerity and self-respect, sense of duty and inflexibility

of purpose ; it had successfully resisted the greatest general of all time, the illustrious Hannibal ; and had enacted wise and just laws for all within the jurisdiction of its courts. It was, therefore, a great ideal, and as such ideal was profoundly and affectionately revered by the great order of Stoic philosophers—Cato, Brutus, Cassius, Pompeius, Cicero, Seneca, Thræsea Pætus, Helvidius Priscus, and last, but not least, the illustrious historian, Tacitus. It was their ideal, their creed, their policy, their philosophy.

It must not be forgotten that Republicanism may be as conservative as any other form of government ; and in modern America we find the spirit of Conservatism represented by a party bearing the misleading title of Democrats.¹ The great ideal of all that was just, good, noble, worthy, bright, was clung to by the ancient Roman Republican Stoics with desperate tenacity and fiery fervour of spirit. For that ideal, Cato sacrificed himself, Brutus slew his dearly loved friend, Cicero clung to the falling fortunes of Pompeius and hurled his lightnings against Anthony, Thræsea Pætus braved the wild fury of Nero even unto death, Helvidius Priscus followed in his steps and suffered political martyrdom under Vespasian, and the same holy flame burned with a steady glow in the heart of the illustrious Prætor, who, amid the corruption, shame, and slavery of the court of the fell tyrant Domitian, kept his political faith with unswerving fidelity, and recorded the creed of a noble life on the imperishable page of history. Yes, we feel that spirit through the writings of Tacitus. It inspires his eloquence, it exalts his philosophy, it whets his satire

¹ For the leading distinctions between the "Republican" and "Democratic" parties in the United States of America, I refer the reader to the admirable work of Professor Bryce.

against vice and enkindles his noble rage against oppression. Now we know the school in which he lived and learned. Now we know the masters who moulded his immortal spirit, and, knowing these precious things, let us now consider the political lessons of Tacitus.

Stoicism and Cæsarism were as opposite as the poles, and as inconsistent with each other as the antagonistic ideas of Plato. Light and darkness cannot coexist, inasmuch as darkness means the absence of light, and so it was in regard to Stoicism and Cæsarism. When Cato found that Cæsarism was inevitable, he read through Plato's dialogue on the immortality of the soul, and then stabbed himself. So, too, Thræsea Pætus spoke forth the voice of liberty in the teeth of Nero, and invited philosophical martyrdom. He remembered his mother, Arria :

“Casta suo gladium cum traderet Arria Pæto,
 Quem de visceribus traxerat ipsa suis :
 Si qua fides, vulnus, quod feci, non dolet, inquit ;
 Sed quod tu facies, hoc mihi, Pæte, dolet.”¹

When from her bleeding breast chaste Arria tore
 The reeking blade, and passed it to her love ;
 “ It pains not, Pætus, pains not, but full sore
 What pains me, darling, 'tis,” she cried, “ thy wound.”

And Arria's son, Thræsea Pætus, worshipped at the same shrine as his mother, and this spirit of Stoicism was as the breath of his nostrils. So when Tacitus writes of Thræsea in the *Annals*, the historian lights up, he glows, he burns. He speaks of Thræsea as “ Virtue's self,”² and mourns his death as a great national calamity.³ Helvidius Priscus, son-in-law of Thræsea, followed in the same path, and receives the same chaplet of historic immortality.

¹ *Martial*, i. 14.

² *Annals*, xvi. 21.

³ *Ibid.*, xvi. 21-35.

But just as either the ravages of time or the hand of the Goth tore from us those precious pages of the *Annals* which record the dying breath of Thræsea, so too there have been snatched from us for ever the priceless leaves of the *History* that tell of the martyrdom of Helvidius by Vespasian. It therefore needs no argument to prove that Tacitus was a devoted adherent of the Stoic philosophy.

Nor are we here concerned with the esoteric philosophy of the Porch. We need not brood over the doctrine of Chrysippus, that all accidents, qualities, virtues, are material *σώματα*, whilst "time," on the contrary, like "the void," is *ἀσώματον* and *καθ'αυτό τι νοούμενον πρᾶγμα*. Nor can we pause over the sage's mystic words: *Οὐχ ἡ μὲν νύξ σῶμά ἐστιν, ἡ δ' ἐσπέρα καὶ ὁ ὀρθρὸς καὶ τὸ μέσον τῆς νυκτὸς σώματα οὐκ ἔστιν*. Nor yet may we linger over the marvellous idea, the stupendous inspiration of the Stoics, in which they anticipated and shadowed forth the Newtonian law of universal gravitation, holding as they did that all things tend to a centre. For one moment we may stay to catch the solemn accents of the great Roman disciple of Epicurus, who so wrongly gainsaid the gravitation theory of Chrysippus:

"Illud in his rebus longe fuge credere, Memmi,
In medium summæ, quod dicunt, omnia niti,
Atque ideo mundi naturam stare sine ullis
Ictibus externis neque quoquam posse resolveri
Summa atque ima, quod in medium sint omnia nixa:

* * * * *

Sed vanus stolidis hæc error somnia finxit."¹

We have here to deal with the practical exoteric aspects of Stoicism, which attracted the common sense of the Roman disciples of the Porch. Accordingly we find the

¹ Lucretius, *De Rer. Nat.*, i. 1052, *et seq.* The italicized portion of the last line is supplied by Mr. Munro to fill the lacuna in the MS.

following description of Cato's studies in Plutarch's life of the great Roman, and willingly avail ourselves of Mr. George Long's translation :¹ "After Cato obtained the priesthood of Apollo, he changed his residence, and taking his portion of his paternal property, which portion was a hundred and twenty talents, he contracted his style of living still further, and, making his companion of Antipater of Tyrus, a Stoic, he attached himself mainly to *ethical and political studies*, occupying himself with every virtue as if he were possessed by some divine influence ; but, above all, *that part of the beautiful which consists in steady adherence to justice and in inflexibility towards partiality or favour was his great delight.*"

It was this aspect of Stoicism that attracted the minds of the practical Romans, and we mark its effects on Cato, Brutus, Cicero, Thræsea, Helvidius, and Tacitus himself. These political philosophers felt that Stoicism and Cæsarism were antagonistic in the full Platonic sense of the term, and therefore they were bound to encounter absolutism with an eternal *non possumus*. They were all conversant with the great treatise of Aristotle on the subject of *Politics*, and they found that prince of political philosophers excluding tyranny from the limits of all political constitutions. It may not, therefore, be out of place if we briefly call the reader's attention to the principal passages in the treatise of Aristotle wherein that philosopher deals with absolutism. In the third book of *The Politics*, cap. vii., he observes²—

"We have next to consider how many forms of government there are, and what they are ; and, in the first place,

¹ Plutarch, *Cato*, iv., Stewart and Long's translation, vol. iii. p. 504.

² Jowett's trans., vol. i. p. 79.

what are *the true forms*, for when they are determined *the perversions of them* will at once be apparent. The words 'constitution' and 'government' have the same meaning, and the government, which is the supreme authority in states, must be in the hands of *one, or of a few, or of many*. The true forms of government, therefore, are those in which the one, or the few, or the many, *govern with a view to the common interest*; but governments which *rule with a view to the private interest*, whether of the one, or of the few, or of the many, are *perversions*. For citizens, if they are truly citizens, ought to participate in the advantages of a state. Of forms of government in which one rules, we call that which regards the common interests, kingship or royalty; that in which more than one, but not many, rule, aristocracy [the rule of the best]; and it is so called, either because the rulers are the best men, or because they have at heart the best interests of the state and of the citizens. But when the citizens at large administer the state for the common interest, the government is called by the generic name—a constitution [πολιτεία]. . . . Of the above-mentioned forms, the *perversions* are as follows: *of royalty, tyranny*; of aristocracy, oligarchy; of constitutional government, democracy. For tyranny is a kind of monarchy which has in view the interest of the monarch only; oligarchy has in view the interest of the wealthy; democracy, of the needy: *none of them the common good of all.*"

Let us pause after reading this masterly dissertation of Aristotle, and ask ourselves what must have been the feelings of a Stoic when he found Aristotle defining absolutism as a *perversion* of royalty. We have seen how Cato devoted himself to the steady adherence to justice and inflexibility towards partiality or favour. How, then,

could he recognize what Aristotle had put outside the pale of all political constitutions and branded as a "perversion"? So Thræsea, Helvidius, Brutus, Cicero, Tacitus must have learned and felt. Cicero, the most accomplished public man of all time, steeped in philosophy, saturated with the learning of Plato and Aristotle, deeply versed in the literature and history of politics, must have had the lessons of "the mighty Stagirite" engraven upon the tablets of his mind. How profoundly must Cicero have felt the following wonderful criticism of Aristotle!—"Tyranny is a compound of oligarchy and democracy in their most extreme forms; it is, therefore, most injurious to its subjects, being made up of two evil forms of government, and having the perversions and errors of both. . . . History shows that almost all tyrants have been demagogues who gained the favour of the people by their accusation of the notables. At any rate, this was the manner in which the tyrannies arose in the days when cities had increased in power."¹

Again, with what rapt attention the intrepid Stoics must have pondered over those memorable words of the great philosopher! "This tyranny is just that arbitrary power of an individual which is responsible to no one, and governs all alike, whether equals or betters, with a view to its own advantage, not to that of its subjects, and therefore against their will. *No freeman, if he can escape from it, will endure such a government.*"²

Finally, how these Romans must have felt the prophetic criticism with which the usually impassive philosopher lights up his lessons and almost exclaims—

"And these few precepts in thy memory
Look thou character!"

¹ Aristotle, *Politics*, v. 10, Jowett's translation, vol. i. pp. 169, 170.

² *Ibid.*, iv. 10, Jowett's trans., vol. i. p. 126.

“There are,” says Aristotle, “two chief motives which induce men to attack tyrannies—hatred and contempt. Hatred of tyrants is inevitable, and contempt is also a frequent cause of their destruction. Thus we see that most of those who have acquired have retained their power, but those who have inherited have lost it, almost at once ; for, living in luxurious ease, they have become contemptible, and offer many opportunities to their assailants.”¹

Let us now say farewell to Aristotle, and consider for a short time some of the cardinal points elucidated by Tacitus in his *History*. The most casual and desultory reader of the *History* must be forced to notice the following obvious conclusions. Absolutism derives its position, not from constitutional developments, not from the reflex action of social progress and expansion, but from the personal character of the despot. Hence it is the most obnoxious and objectionable form of government. It is true, you may have a Julius Cæsar, an Augustus, a Trajan, a Marcus Aurelius, to-day ; but you may have a Caligula, a Nero, a Domitian, a Commodus, to-morrow. This is not “the reign of law.” This is not a system where the centripetal control of constitutional forces holds and binds the centrifugal tendencies of the governing power. In a constitutional and limited form of monarchy, such as our own happy English constitution, the constant and measured restraint of our Imperial Parliament maintains a certain even tenor of political conditions, social relations, and normal freedom of civic life. So, too, in America, the power of the President of the United States is held in its appointed course and channel by the guiding direction of the Congress and the Senate. But look at absolutism in the past and in the present. The military

¹ *Politics*, v. 10, Jowett's trans., vol. i. p. 175.

absolutism in the *History* of Tacitus presents an appalling picture. The despot of the hour works his way to the throne of the Cæsars by fraud, corruption, bribery, treachery, murder, and assassination. Once in power, he avails himself of his position, not for the benefit of those who have the misfortune to be his subjects, but simply for the purpose of plundering the community for his friends and confederates, and wreaking his vengeance on political opponents. In most cases he outlucifers Lucifer, of whom the poet sang—

“Satan exalted sat, by merit raised
To that bad eminence.”

Occasionally there is a transient change, just enough to show how the vile system altogether depends on the personal character of the despot; and then, after a few gleams of sunshine, we are plunged again into a still deeper gloom, for after an angelic Titus comes a demoniac Domitian. Never have more terrible examples been held up before the world than in the magic mirror of Tacitus, and, if the lurid scenes appal the heart, yet those dread lessons strengthen the understanding.

The eternal laws hold the same balance in these modern times, and, even in our own days, we have witnessed the noble French nation madly, wildly, blindly hurried into the jaws of a fatal war by an impotent despot, who sacrificed the best interests of his unhappy country in a vain effort to uphold a decaying and tottering dynasty. At this moment we have before our vision the fearful spectacle of the Czar confronted by Nihilism, and Siberia and the knout arrayed against the Forlorn Hope of Russian liberty.

Another lesson inculcated in the *History* of Tacitus, another conclusion clear and palpable, is the corruption,

demoralization, and degradation of the subjects of absolutism. A fawning, cringing Senate record the mandates of their master, flatter his evil deeds, obey his most heinous behests, and sanction his iniquities. With slavish instincts they calculate the chances, and desert a Sejanus or a Nero, an Otho or a Vitellius, with every turn of the wheel of fortune :

“Jam strident ignes, jam foliis atque caminis
Ardet adoratum populo caput et crepat ingens
Sejanus.”

Ever and anon amid the din of hollow flattery we may catch the clear note of protest from a Thræsea or a Helvidius—Liberty's expiring voice, soon silent for ever in the decline and fall of the Roman empire. Acute as were the sufferings of the Roman people, grievous as were the calamities they had to endure during the dreadful civil wars, yet these evils were as nothing compared with the moral deterioration, the ethical collapse, the mental gangrene that destroyed all the fibre of the grand old Roman race. The poison, the cancer of absolutism gnawed its way into the very vitals of the Roman people, who soon became a nation of mere slaves, wholly unable to protect the frontiers against the inroads of those hardy warriors, sped by an avenging destiny to sweep away for ever a degraded race—the victims of a system sure to produce the same effect wherever it may be applied.

Another mournful lesson has been taught us by the historian in words not easily forgotten. He tells us that the glorious history of the Republic had been recorded by many authors with equal eloquence and independence, but that with the advent of despotism those mighty intellects vanished and truth was sapped in divers ways.¹

¹ Tacitus, *Hist.*, i. 1.

One of the most appalling features of Roman military absolutism is the destruction of free thought and enlightened opinion. Not even the blast of the sirocco could have a more withering effect than had this deadly blight of mind, of heart, of soul. The intellectual decadence was most manifest to our historian; nor can we be surprised that his whole spirit is steeped in a gloomy pessimism, rarely relieved, never completely dispelled, although lifted from him by a spell of sunshine when he dilates upon the virtues of his favourite hero—his beloved relative, Agricola.

Is it not, then, passing strange that James Anthony Froude should have put forward such extraordinary views in his work on Julius Cæsar? Admitting that the great dictator was the paragon pictured by the Oxford professor, admitting that Professor Froude was justified in assigning to him "every virtue under heaven," yet we are wholly at a loss to understand or comprehend how one who assumes to wear the mantle of history could possibly defend the adoption of a military absolutism and despotism, upon which should follow, upon which was bound to follow, as the night the day, the destruction and disintegration of a glorious and mighty empire. We believe that, if Professor Froude meditated more and wrote less, he never would have produced the following passage: "Cicero's *natural place* was at Cæsar's side; but to Cæsar alone of his contemporaries he was conscious of an inferiority which was intolerable to him. In his own eyes he was always the first person. He had been made unhappy by the thought that posterity might rate Pompey above himself. Closer acquaintance had reassured him about Pompey, but in Cæsar he was conscious of a higher presence, and he rebelled against the humiliating acknowledgment. Supreme as an orator

he could always be, *and an order of things was, therefore, most desirable where oratory held the highest place.* Thus he chose his part with the *boni*, whom he despised while he supported them, drifting on through vacillation into treachery, till 'the ingredients of the poisoned chalice' were 'commended to his own lips.'"¹

I would fain ask, Why was Cicero's *natural* place at Cæsar's side? Was it *natural* that the Stoic philosopher and Conservative Republican statesman should help the nephew of Caius Marius and son-in-law of Cinna to pass from the stage of radical democracy to the subversion of the constitution and the establishment of absolutism and military despotism? Is that Professor Froude's idea of the word "*natural*"? We should have thought it quite a non-natural process to get rid of the convictions of a lifetime, and abandon the creed so long cherished by the philosopher and statesman. It is to be hoped that no dispassionate mind can seek to justify Cæsar's subversion of the constitution. It was one thing to establish law and order, but quite another to destroy the republic that he was bound to protect and uphold. That is the ruinous blot on Julius Cæsar as a politician. He sacrificed the welfare of his country to his own selfish interests, for surely no one could pretend that Cæsar established absolutism for Rome's sake rather than his own. The enemies of Cicero have, however, contended that, as he wrote one palinode,² it required no very great effort to write another, and that he who was once a trimmer might not have found it a very painful task to turn his coat a second time. There could be no more heinous slander against the memory of a great man than such a charge

¹ Froude's *Cæsar*, 1st edit., cap. xxvii. p. 477.

² The speech, *De Provinciis consularibus*.

as this. We feel confident that a brief glance at the true aspect of the case will dispel the accusation. It is true that Cicero quitted for a time the camp of the Optimates, and gave his adhesion—to what? Not to a dictator grasping at the sceptre, but to the first triumvirate, which included Pompeius, Cicero's own chief, leader, and political idol. Moreover, although he quitted the camp of the Optimates for a time, yet he quitted no political party, for at this time the Conservative party in Rome was comatose and in a lethargy. Furthermore, although the political action of Cicero cannot be defended on strictly abstract principles, yet that moment of weakness was the result of dreadful and tremendous pressure. On one side was the treachery of those nobles for whom Cicero had done so much ; on the other, the pressing invitation of his friend and chief, Pompeius, the leader of the triumvirate. Such weakness as his was, therefore, surely pardonable, and all the more so in the light of subsequent history, when the real Cicero, the grand old Stoic, followed the fallen fortunes of his friend Pompeius, rejected the addresses of Cæsar, braved the fury of Antonius, and fell a martyr to his principles. This, Professor Froude, was his *natural* side.

Never has a political reputation been more ably or successfully vindicated than that of Cicero at the hands of Professor R. Y. Tyrrell. In the dissertation prefixed to the second volume of the *Correspondence* of the illustrious Roman, the learned writer has reviewed with keen discrimination the entire aspect of this weak moment in a noble life. We feel assured that our readers have pondered over the arguments therein set forth with such clearness and cogency, nor shall we attempt to impair their force by detached extracts ; and yet we cannot refrain from reproducing his conclusion :

“In taking a broad view of Cicero’s political attitude during this epoch, we must remember that he was drawn to Pompeius by old political sympathies, and to Cæsar by consistent courtesy and generosity on his part; and that the Optimates deliberately effaced themselves, and tried to efface Cicero. Under these circumstances, what Cicero really desired was cultured leisure, *otium cum dignitate*. If at this period, through his desire for *otium*, he sacrificed his *dignitas*, let us remember that after all he was really not so much a politician as a man of letters forced to take part in politics, by reason of the extraordinary and singular position in which his amazing literary gifts placed him, and at a time when the political atmosphere was terribly overcharged. Let us remember that it was only when the cause of Pompeius seemed desperate that Cicero’s whole heart went out to him. When Pompeius left Brundisium and embarked for Greece, Cæsar thought it would be a favourable time to secure the allegiance of Cicero. He hastened to communicate to him the news. But Cicero was not a man to espouse the winning side because it was victorious. It was the ruin of Pompeius that drew Cicero to him closer than ever. ‘I never wanted to share his prosperity; would that I had shared his downfall,’ are his words (*Att.*, ix. 12. 14) to Atticus at this crisis. And, above all, let us not forget that, if in this period of his anxious and troubled life Cicero seems to have sacrificed honour to tranquillity, the time came when he willingly resigned not only a life of ease, but life itself, to save his honour. Cato was not the first Roman in whose eyes the vanquished found more favour than the victorious cause.”¹

Nor should it ever be forgotten that during these

¹ Tyrrell’s *Correspondence of Cicero*, vol. ii., Introd., xlv., xlvii.

moments of terrible pressure and terrible temptation, when Cicero departed from his abstract ideal, he lent countenance to a triumvirate which, although invested with great powers, did not aim at the subversion of the constitution. It is with pleasure that I refer to the work of Mr. W. Warde Fowler, Sub-rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, who, in his recent volume on *Julius Cæsar*, thus correctly sets forth the political attitude of the first triumvirate: "There were, of course, personal ambitions in the minds of each of the three; there were provinces to be ruled, and armies to be commanded. But such prospects were equally before every Roman who was mounting the ladder of political fame; and it cannot be proved that either Cæsar, Pompeius, or Crassus, any more than the rest, seriously thought as yet of using such power to destroy an ancient constitution."¹

But we must heartily forgive Professor Froude when we remember that he is not so much of a historian as a hero-worshipper. Unlike Thucydides, who deemed one man pretty much the same as another, when the Oxford professor has secured a hero, he pays homage to his idol with all the genuine enthusiasm of a fanatic. Surely nothing but fanaticism could forget all those liaisons which culminated in the Cleopatra scandal and draw a grotesque parallel, which no sane being can regard without amazement.

For ourselves, we may say that there are few who will not profit from the lessons of Tacitus. They will see that his political wisdom is founded on those immutable and eternal laws that reject absolutism as a mere perversion of government. They will find that Cæsarism varies with

¹ *Julius Cæsar* (Heroes of the Nations Series: Putnam's Sons), by W. Warde Fowler, at p. 103.

the character of every succeeding despot, and that there are no controlling constitutional forces to hold and fix it in anything like an even course and tenor. Without certainty of government and certainty of law there can be no constitution, but only a despotism almost as fatal as anarchy itself. The essential difference between government proper and a perversion of government is that the main object of the former is to promote the interests of the *governed*, while that of the latter simply regards the position of the *governing power*. Such was the distinction drawn by Aristotle—a distinction which has held good in all ages and all countries. Nor can we rise from a perusal of those terrible examples, written in words of fire by the illustrious historian, without a feeling of deep and sincere thankfulness that we ourselves enjoy a constitution the most perfect the world has yet seen, a constitution which has for its main object the good and welfare of the *governed*, inasmuch as all, from the Queen down to the peasant, are *governed* by the reflex action of Parliamentary government. Nor should we forget that those who constitute the Imperial Parliament fulfil in their own persons the double capacity of governors and governed. This indeed, to use the language of the philosopher, is no perversion, but a constitution in very truth.

III. THE INTERPRETATION OF TACITUS.

No Latin author presents more difficulties of interpretation than Tacitus; nor could there be any greater proof of this statement than the fact that, after a lapse of eighteen hundred years, it is only now that the world has learned, through the labours of Carl Meiser, the full meaning of those marvellous chapters in the second book

of the *History* describing the preparations of Vespasian in the East.¹ Nor is there any author that more amply repays the study of his meaning. His pregnant brevity strikingly resembles the concentrated force of Thomas Carlyle, while his own personal experience of the horrors of Domitian's tyranny invests his style with an intensity of feeling almost keener even than that of the immortal author of *The French Revolution*. We propose to take our readers through some of the most important passages in the first and second books of the *History*, pointing out the false interpretations that have hitherto been put on many of those passages.

I. 2: "*Haustæ aut obrutæ urbes, fecundissima Campaniæ ora; et urbs incendiis vastata.*" This is the reading of the Medicean MS. It is supported by Meiser, and we believe it to be the true text. It has been impugned by Wölfflin (*Philol.*, xxvii. 121–124) and condemned by Heræus, who reads, "*Hausta aut obruta fecundissima Campaniæ ora.*" We do not think the reasons advanced by either Wölfflin or Heræus are at all sufficient to justify so ruthless an interference with the authority of the Medicean MS. We will first deal with their minor argument. They contend that the repetition of the words *urbes* and *urbs* in the same sentence is so ungraceful a repetition that Tacitus would never have yielded to it. But Livy repeats the word *urbs* in the same sentence (ii. 39). Moreover, *urbs*, as contradistinguished from *urbes*, is Rome, the city *par excellence*. This minor argument is, therefore, entirely too weak. Their more important argument, however, is that the words *fecundissima ora* have little or no point in conjunction with the preceding, *haustæ aut obrutæ urbes*, and that "cities" can scarcely be

¹ ii. 74–86, both inclusive.

described as *fecundissima ora*. But the words *fecundissima ora* are, as long ago pointed out by J. Müller, in apposition to *urbes*, and in the nominative, not the ablative. They therefore describe where the cities were—in Campania's fairest border. Moreover, the words of Meiser admirably emphasize the necessity of retaining Tacitus' graphic allusion to the destruction of Herculaneum and Pompeii. "Quæ ratio," he says, "minime potest probari. Nam deletio verbo *urbes*, quod maximum et gravissimum erat, interitum urbium e textu sustulit"!

I. 20: "*Exactioni triginta equites Romani præpositi, novum officii genus et ambitu ac numero onerosum.*" "Thirty Roman knights constituted this fiscal commission, novel and oppressive in jurisdiction and constitution." The words *ambitus* and *numerus* clearly refer to the court, and it would appear plain that *ambitus* means "jurisdiction," and not "corruption." *Ambitus* in its primary signification means "range" or "extent," and Plutarch, who drew his materials from the same sources as Tacitus, uses the Greek equivalent, *ὄρος*. In *Galba*, xvi., he says: Τοῦ δὲ πράγματος ὄρον οὐκ ἔχοντος, ἀλλὰ πόρῳ νεμομένου καὶ προιόντος ἐπὶ πολλούς, αὐτὸς μὲν ἠδόξει.

I. 21: "*Fingebat et metum quo magis concupisceret,*" "Nay, he worked himself into fear, to whet his ambition." All the critics have mistaken the meaning of this passage. They translate, "He pretended to be afraid, to give edge to his desires." This is meaningless. A pretence of fear could scarcely whet ambition. The true key to the solution of the meaning is to be found in Vergil, whose poems were so familiar to Tacitus. Mr. Furneaux has, in the introduction to his Commentary on the *Annals*, given a number of parallel passages in Vergil, which Tacitus has adapted in his poetic prose. Mr. Bellingham

Brady had, prior to Mr. Furneaux, rendered us all the same service in the first volume of *Hermathena*.¹ We cannot, therefore, be surprised at the language of Orelli: “Hic quoque Tacitus Vergilii sui meminerat” (*Orel. ad Ann.*, xii. 33). Professor Tyrrell, Regius Professor of Greek, Trinity College, Dublin, has, therefore, out of the mouth of the poet Vergil, solved the meaning of this difficult passage in Tacitus. In *Georg.*, ii. 407, Vergil describes the husbandman as moulding the tendrils of the vine:—

“Curvo Saturni dente relictam
Persequitur vitem attondens *fingitque putando*.”

There the late Professor Conington notes *fingit* as meaning “moulds it to his will,” and observes, “The word is specially used of clay moulded by the potter.” Then we have the description of the priestess in *Æn.*, vi. 77, *et seq.*:

“At, Phœbi nondum patiens, immanis in antro
Bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit
Excussisse deum; tanto magis ille fatigat
Os rabidum, fera corda domans, *fingitque premando*.”

Here, too, the god moulds the priestess under his restraint, as in the Horatian “*Fingit equum tenera docilem cervice magister*.” Again, in *Æn.*, viii. 364 (Fénélon’s favourite passage) we have:

“Aude, hospes, contemnere opes, et te quoque dignum
Finge deo, rebusque veni non asper egenis.”

Heyne explains, “Compone te, mentemque informa ad similitudinem numinis.” Forbiger, Conington, and also Servius have given the same interpretation as Heyne. We now see the Vergilian imagery adapted by Tacitus, and the full meaning of the historian reveals itself to us. Otho

¹ *Hermathena*, vol. i. p. 233.

moulded fears, he worked himself into fear, he actually persuaded himself that he was afraid, in order to whet his ambition and give edge to his desires. Long ago, Professor Nesbitt, in his admirable paper entitled "*Horæ Taciteæ*," in the third volume of *Hermathena*,¹ discarded the erroneous rendering, "he even pretended to fear," and observed, "Not so; acting a part does not quicken the feelings. Translate, 'He conjured up fears to whet his desires'—a stroke worthy of Tacitus." Professor Nesbitt was nearly right, but it remained for Professor Tyrrell to completely explain this beautiful passage.

I. 36: "*Haud dubiæ jam in castris omnium mentes tantusque ardor, ut, non contenti agmine et corporibus, in suggestu, in quo paulo ante aurea Galbæ statua fuerat, medium inter signa Othonem vexillis circumdarent.*" "Unanimity reigned in camp, and such enthusiasm that, dissatisfied with chairing Otho, they placed him between the standards on the platform, where Galba's golden statue had just rested, and surrounded him with the colours." This is the interpretation of Heræus, and I believe the true one. The language of Suetonius bears it out: "*Tunc abditus propere muliebri sella in castra contendit, ac deficientibus lexicaribus cum descendisset cursumque cepisset, laxato calceo restitit, donec omissa mora succollatus, et a præsentis comitatu imperator consalutatus, inter faustas adclamationes strictosque gladios ad principia devenit, obvio quoque non aliter ac si conscius et particeps foret adhærente.*"² Moreover, the word *agmine* implies a military march or procession, and *corporibus* clearly indicates the process of chairing.

I. 48: "*Galbæ amicitia in abruptum tractus.*" "Drawn down into the abyss by Galba's friendship."

¹ At pp. 409, 410.

² Suetonius, *Otho*, vi.

Here clearly Tacitus had in his mind the memorable lines in *Æn.*, iii. 420, *et seq.* :

“Dextrum Scylla latus, lævum implacata Charybdis
Obsidet, atque imo barathri ter gurgite vastos
Sorbet in abruptum fluctus, rursusque sub auras
Erigit alternos et sidera verberat unda.”

It may be asked why, if Tacitus had this passage of Vergil before his mind, did he use the word *tractus* instead of *sorbere*? The answer is obvious. The past participle of *sorbere* is never used. Consequently Tacitus used the word *tractus*. I cannot, therefore, agree with Meiser that the meaning is “raised to a giddy elevation.” It seems to me that Louandre has correctly translated the words by “entraîné dans l’abîme,” which Heræus follows. It would seem, also, that Tacitus has explained himself in ii. 100, *post*, where he writes, “Nec sciri potest, *traxeritne* Cæcinam;” we are in the dark as to whether he (Bassus) drew Cæcina down into crime. Compare also Vergil, *Æn.*, xii. 687 :

“Fertur in abruptum magno mons improbus actu.”

I. 52: “*Panderet modo sinum et venienti Fortunæ occurreret,*” “Crowd canvas towards approaching fortune.” Here Tacitus has used the identical words of Juvenal, i. 149, 150 :

“Utere velis,
Totos pande sinus.”

So Ovid, *A. A.*, iii. 500 :

“Plenaque curvato pandere vela sinu.”

It is strange, therefore, that Meiser and Heræus, although evidently with great doubt, understand the words to mean extending the folds of the toga to greet approaching fortune. Nor do we think the well-known passage in

Vergil, *Æn.*, viii. 711, *et seq.*, militates against our version. The lines in Vergil are :

“Contra autem magno mœrentem corpore Nilum,
Pudentemque sinus et tota veste vocantem
 Cœruleum in gremium, latebrosaue flumina, victos.”

In that well-known passage the metaphor is intended to express the attitude of the Nile receiving the fugitives. Here the idea is entirely different, and is meant to convey the notion of hastening to meet approaching fortune. Both Meiser and Heræus express great doubt as to which is the true rendering, but to our minds the marvelously similar passage in Juvenal should decide the question.

I. 65 : “*Unde æmulatio et invidia et uno amne discretis conexum odium.*” Tacitus was so given to antithesis that he here somewhat strains his art. Hence Mr. Nesbitt, in *Hermathena*, iii., at p. 438, describes the above passage as “this very artificial expression.” He goes on to observe : “The river which alone separated them was no obstacle to the clashing of their hate. The rhetorical effect of the chiasmic original would perhaps be given in translating, ‘the river which alone separated them was bridged by their hate.’”

We do not agree with this version. The word *amne* is associated with *discretis*, and not with *conexum odium*. Accordingly Prammer (cited by Heræus) translates, “Um die durch den Fluss allein Geschiedenen schlang sich das Band des Hasses.” Heræus, commenting upon this, observes, “Tacitus spielt mit den Gegensätzen *discretis* und *conexum*.” Translate : “Hence jealousy ’twixt those rivals who, though severed by the waters of the Rhone, were locked in bonds of hate.”

I. 90 : “Reliquias Neronianarum sectionum nondum

in fiscum conversas revocatis ab exilio concessit, justissimum donum et in speciem magnificum, sed festinata jam pridem exactione usu sterile." Translate: "He presented the returned exiles with any unliquidated proceeds of the state sales of Nero's confiscations; a most just donation and apparently munificent, but really worthless by reason of the long accelerated collection." It will be remembered (i. 20, *ante*) that Galba had appointed a fiscal commission to inquire who had received the vast sums which Nero had distributed in gifts at the expense of the many victims of his tyranny. The duty of this fiscal commission was to allow the holders of these moneys to retain a tithe, but to collect the remaining nine-tenths and pay the same into the imperial treasury. It would appear from the passage under comment that this fiscal commission executed their task with efficiency, inasmuch as the unliquidated proceeds were insignificant by reason of the quick collection, and consequently the poor exiles (from whom Nero had originally confiscated all these moneys or property representing the same) got very little in effect. These exiles are again referred to in ii. 92, *post*, as "*flebilis et egens nobilium turba*," and we find Vitellius restoring to them their rights over their freedmen.

The second book of the *History* is immensely more difficult than the first. Indeed, the thirteen chapters (74–86) conversant with the preparations of Vespasian in the East present the most formidable difficulties. I have derived very great assistance from the splendid commentary of Meiser. However, it will be seen, on reference to cap. 84, that I was completely thrown upon my own resources in endeavouring to elucidate the meaning of the legal terms occurring there. I can only hope to note the more prominent passages in this introduction, leaving

more minute points to the commentary at the foot of each page.

II. 4: "*Magnisque consultis adnuere deam videt.*" "And when he saw the goddess assenting to the momentous questions." The words *consulta responsaque* have a technical meaning. They signify either the questions put to and answered by an oracle or the brief of counsel and his opinion thereon. The first meaning is made clear from iv. 65, *post*: "*Sed coram adire adloquique Veledam negatum. Arcebantur aspectu, quo venerationis plus inesset. Ipsa edita in turre: delectus e propinquis consulta responsaque, ut internuntius numinis, portabat.*" This no doubt was the primary meaning of the term, taking its origin in ancient times. Later on, however, the words were the technical expression for the brief of counsel and his opinion on the same. Thus in Cicero, *De Orat.*, i. 56, § 239, we find: "*Accessisse ad Crassum consulendi causa quendam rusticanum—responsumque ab eo,*" κ.τ.λ.

II. 13: "*Auxit invidiam præclaro exemplo femina Ligus, quæ filio abdito, cum simul pecuniam occultari milites credidissent eoque per cruciatus interrogarent, ubi filium occuleret, uterum ostendens latere respondit, nec ullis deinde terroribus aut morte constantiam vocis egregiæ mutavit.*" The word used by Tacitus is *latēre*, and not *latĕre*. When asked by the troopers where she had hidden her son, where was his hiding-place, "Here," she replied, pointing to her womb. The word *ibi* must be implied before *latēre*. This is the clear meaning of this beautiful passage, full as it is of the richest poetic feeling. The meaning of the woman's action and utterance is fully brought out by *latēre*. Her womb had given birth to her son, and therefore she was bound by the natural instincts

of a mother to be true to her child. Her maternal love would not betray his hiding-place, the affection of the mother would not prove false to her son—(*ibi*) *latēre*. It is, therefore, absurd to think of such a weak construction as *latēre*.

II. 16: "*Digressis qui Pacarium frequentabant, nudus et auxilii inops balineis interficitur.*" "When his many visitors had left Pacarius, they slew him naked and helpless in his bath." *Balineis*, "in his bath," not "at bath-time." The scoundrel, like Marat, was actually caught in his bath. So Nipperdey, Meiser, Dräger, who justify the omission of *in*. Heræus, Spooner, Godley, and others, take the word as a temporal ablative, on the analogy of *comitiis*, *ludis*, *gladiatoribus*, and signifying "at bath-time." This interpretation destroys the dramatic effect, and scarcely explains *nudus*, which would appear to be used in its literal sense by reason of the accompanying words, *et auxilii inops*. It is quite clear, therefore, that *nudus* and *auxilii inops* are not synonymous terms in this passage, and that we cannot, here at all events, think of the words in *Othello*:

"Look in upon me then, and speak with me,
Or, *naked* as I am, I will assault thee."

It would seem clear that, like Marat, the fellow was enjoying his tub when he was caught and destroyed. It is true that in cap. 22, *post*, we have *nudis corporibus*, meaning "armourless," like the Greek *γυμνός*, but there the context is entirely different; nor is *nudus*, as here, pointed off by *auxilii inops*. Moreover, Tacitus more frequently than any other Latin writer omits prepositions for effect, as in ii. 79, *post*: "*Syria remeans*;" also in *Annals*, i. 3: "*remeantem Armenia*;" *ibid.*, ii. 69: "*Ægypto remeans*;" *ibid.*, iii. 11: "*rediens Illyrico*."

In all those passages the preposition is omitted. It may therefore be fairly contended that here too *balineis* stands for *in balineis*. By this construction the dramatic picture intended by Tacitus is brought out into relief.

II. 48: "Non enim ultima desperatione sed poscente proelium exercitu, *remisisse rei publicæ novissimum casum*." "For not in despair's last throes, but while my army called for battle, *have I foregone my last chance for sake of Fatherland*." Heræus is quite wrong in translating *casum* as "misfortune" in this passage. Here it clearly means "a chance," as demonstrated by the historian himself in *Annals*, xii. 33, where the British chieftain, Caratacus (usually called, when we were boys, Caractacus) is described by Tacitus, *novissimum casum experitur*, "tries his last chance (in a final struggle)." Tacitus uses the word *casus* as "a chance" in very many passages, as in *Annals*, i. 13: "si casus daretur;" *ibid.*, xi. 9: "casus Mithridati datus est;" *ibid.*, xii. 28: "casum pugnæ præberent." So Sallust, *Jugurth.*, xxv. 9: "aut vi aut dolis sese casum victoriæ inventurum;" *ibid.*, lvi. 4: "Fortunam illis præclari facinoris casum dare." The alternative translation, "had spared the state the last calamities," cannot be justified. *Remittere* is the technical term for describing the action of a creditor when he abandons or foregoes a claim against his debtor. Here Otho abandons, foregoes, his last chance, not in despair, but, although his army called for battle, for the sake of fatherland. Moreover, Tacitus has, as already mentioned, in *Annals*, xii. 33, stereotyped the meaning of *novissimus casus* as "the last chance." There Caratacus (or Caractacus) *novissimum casum experitur*:

"Slave! I have set my life upon a cast,
And I will stand the hazard of the die."

II. 55: "*Cessisse Othonem.*" "Otho was emperor no more." This is the text of the Medicean MS., and is, we believe, the language of Tacitus. It is passing strange that none of the commentators have observed the true reason for the use of these words. The religious festival of Ceres was being celebrated in the theatre, and during the solemnization of a religious festival words of evil omen were never used, but, on the contrary, were studiously and scrupulously avoided—*εὐφημα φώνει*:

"Odi profanum vulgus et arceo;
Favete linguis: carmina non prius
 Audita Musarum sacerdos
 Virginibus puerisque canto."

Hence no announcement could be made in the theatre that Otho was dead. Those would be words of evil omen at the festival of Ceres. So a euphemism was used. *Cedere*, without the addition of the word *vitâ*, does not mean "to die," but "to abdicate." So in iii. 66, *post*: "Quod si tam facile suorum mentes flexisset Vitellius quam ipse *cesserat*." Again, we have in iii. 68, *post*: "*Cedere* se pacis et rei publicæ causa." Therefore the words *cessisse Othonem* mean "Otho was emperor no more," and convey euphemistically the alternative meaning, that he "had passed away." There is, therefore, no necessity to adopt the emendation of Heræus and Petersen, *cecidisse*; nor that of Ritter, *concessisse*; nor that of Wölfflin, *excecisce*. The text of the Medicean MS. is therefore correct, and affords us another illustration of the necessity of conservative criticism. A manuscript of high authority should be followed as long as its words afford a clear and definite meaning, such as here. Meiser has followed the manuscript, but it is strange that he did not observe the euphemistic reason for adhering to it.

II. 56 : “*In omne fas nefasque avidi aut venales non sacro, non profano abstinebant.*” “Dare-devils in their greed or corruption, they spared nothing sacred or profane.” The term *fas nefasque* was a regular formula for expressing totality. *Fas* and *nefas* were the opposite poles of good and evil, antagonistic ideas in the true Platonic sense of the word. Hence a man who discarded *fas nefasque* was a man who defied everything human and divine, and was a dare-devil. The Platonic explanation of antagonistic ideas will explain Horace, *Epod.*, v. 87 (*Orelli*, new edition by Hirschfelder) :

“*Venena maga non fas nefasque, non valent
Convertere humanam vicem.*”

This is the emendation of M. Haupt, and approved of by Meineke, L. Müller, Lehrs, Vahlen, and Kiessling. This emendation brings out the meaning with great force, and with only a slight and justifiable departure from the MSS. We have in Ovid, *Amor.*, I. viii. 5 :

“*Illa magas artes, Ææaque carmina novit,
Inque caput rapidas arte recurvat aquas.*”

Again we find in the same poet, *Med. Fac.*, 35 :

“*Sic potius nos uret amor, quam fortibus herbis,
Quas maga terribili subsecat arte manus.*”

No doubt the rhythm is peculiar, but is perhaps justified by the fifteenth verse :

“*Canidia, brevibus implicata viperis.*”

The meaning 'is clear : “Witchcraft cannot change *fas* into *nefas*, nor alter the laws of human retribution” (*Diris agam vos*). There were many other formulas for the idea of totality, and they are fully set forth in the excursus of Orelli on this passage. The meaning is admirably brought out in the opening passage of Andocides, *De Mysteriis*, i. :

Τὴν μὲν παρασκευὴν, ὧ ἄνδρες, καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῶν ἐμῶν, ὥστε με κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου καὶ δικαίως καὶ ἀδίκως . . . σχεδόν τι πάντες ἐπίστασθε. It will be observed that the words ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου are explained by δικαίως καὶ ἀδίκως. Then we have in Pindar, *Ol.*, ii. 17 :

Τῶν δὲ πεπραγμένων
Ἐν δίκῃ τε καὶ παρὰ δίκαν ἀποίητον οὐδ' ἂν
Χρόνος ὁ πάντων πατὴρ δύναιτο θέμεν ἔργων τέλος.

In *Æschylus, Choeph.*, 78, where we find δίκαια καὶ μὴ δίκαια, the late Mr. Paley quotes the scholiast: ἔστι δὲ παροιμία, Δοῦλε, δεσποτῶν ἄκουε καὶ δίκαια κᾶδικα, and refers to the idea of generality. Other examples will be found in the note to this passage in the translation. Tacitus, however, has emphasized his meaning still further by adding, “non sacro, non profano abstinebant.” He thus indicates the abandoned character of these men, who defied everything human and divine, and were thus dare-devils and desperadoes.

II. 67: “*Addito honestæ missionis lenimento.*” “Soothed by a discharge on full retiring allowance.” The discharge of the Roman soldier was of three kinds: *honestæ*, *causaria*, *ignominiosa*. The first (*honestæ*) was after full service and on full retiring allowance; the second (*causaria*) was for physical or mental incapacity; the third (*ignominiosa*) was expulsion or drumming out for crime, mutiny, or misconduct. For more minute particulars, see note on the passage in the translation and the new edition of Smith’s *Dict. Ant.*, vol. i. p. 809, tit. “*Exercitus.*”

II. 68: “*Et victas quidem partes modeste distraxerat: apud victores orta seditio ludicro initio, ni numerus cæsorū invidiam belli auxisset.*” “Thus, indeed, he had quietly split up the Othonianist faction; but in the ranks

of the victors arose a mutiny that began in what might be called sport, but for the loss of life that deepened the horrors of war." This is the only passage in the present volume in which I have ventured to submit a reading of my own. The text of the Medicean MS. is manifestly corrupt. It runs as follows : "*Et quidem partes modeste distraxerat : apud victores orta seditio ludicro initio, numerus cæsorum invidiam bello auxisset.*" Meiser has proposed *has partes*, but I believe that *victas partes*, the emendation of Haase, is better as an antithesis to *apud victores*. Agricola prefixed *ni* before *numerus*, and that emendation has been universally adopted. Meiser has also proposed *belli traxisset* for *bello auxisset*, I venture to say, needlessly, as the slight modification of *belli auxisset* evokes full meaning out of the passage. I therefore read *belli auxisset*, and propose the entire passage as above. The translation I have given is the truly admirable rendering of Professor Tyrrell. The word *ni* modifies the prior statement, *ludicro initio*. Two passages elsewhere in Tacitus explain the full force of the idiom. *Agricola*, vi. : "Vixeruntque mira concordia per mutuam caritatem et *invicem* se anteponendo, *nisi* quod in bona uxore tanto major laus quanto in mala plus culpæ est." Again, we have the following passage in *Annals*, xiv. 14 : "Notos quoque equites Romanos operas arenæ promittere subegit *donis ingentibus*, *nisi* quod *merces* ab eo qui *jubere* potest, *vim necessitatis* affert." G. Andresen well explains the idiom in his note on *Agricola*, vi. : "Illud judicium, quod hoc enuntiato quasi justis coercetur terminis, per ellipsin quandam in his particulis haud raram ex eis, quæ precedunt, facile assumitur." This idiom is quite Tacitean, and is admirably explained in Professor Tyrrell's translation.

II. 74: "*Fausta Vitellio omnia precantem.*" "When he prayed, 'All Hail!' to Vitellius." This is the text of the Medicean MS. (*omta*), and is clearly the language of Tacitus. So we have (as cited by Heræus) in iv. 49, *post*: "*Magna voce læta Pisoni omnia tamquam principi continuare.*" Also, Plautus, *Rud.*, iii. 2. 25: "*Equidem tibi bona optavi omnia.*" Also, Terence, *And.*, i. 1. 70: "*Patri omnia bona dicere.*" Again, Livy, xxiv. 16. 10: "*Cum . . . bona omnia populo Romano Gracchoque ipsi precarentur;*" xxxi. 7. 15: "*Læta omnia prosperaque portendere.*" It is quite clear, therefore, that Lipsius was wrong in his proposed emendation of *omina* for *omnia*, in which he has been erroneously followed by Walther and Bach.

II. 74: "*Esse privatis cogitationibus progressum, et prout velint, plus minusve sumi ex fortuna: imperium cupientibus nihil medium inter summa aut præcipitia.*" "Subjects may choose each rung upon Ambition's ladder and seek for Fortune's favours, more or less, according to their bent, but the imperial votary hath no resting-place 'twixt pinnacle and perdition." It is wholly unnecessary to add *regressum* with J. Müller, Weissenborn, and Heræus. Upward progress is alone meant by the word *progressus*, which is here equivalent to *gradus progrediendi*. So Meiser: "*Re vera de progrediendo tantum agitur. Sensus enim est: privata commoda petentibus plus minusve progredi licet; prout volunt, aut summam fortunam concupiscunt aut in mediocri acquiescunt: imperium cupientibus nihil medium relinquitur: aut imperandum aut pereundum. Progressus igitur = gradus progrediendi, Abstusungen.*" The imperial votary has *nihil medium*, "no resting-place," no half-way house, no Mittelstufe, but must mount to the pinnacle or fall headlong into the abyss.

II. 76 : “ *Abiit jam et transvectum est tempus, quo posses videri concupisse : confugiendum est ad imperium.*”
 “ *The time hath sped, sailed past, for ‘seems,’ safe semblance of ambition. The throne itself is now thy only sanctuary.*” The whole force of the passage is centred on *videri*. Hence the meaning is quite Shakespearian :

“ *Seems, madam ! nay, it is ; I know not seems.*
 ’Tis not alone my inky cloak, good mother,
 Nor customary suits of solemn black,
 Nor windy suspiration of forc’d breath,
 No, nor the fruitful river in the eye,
 Nor the dejected haviour of the visage,
 Together with all forms, modes, shows of grief,
 That can denote me truly : these, indeed, *seem*,
 For they are actions that a man might play :
 But I have that within which passeth show ;
 These, but the trappings and the suits of woe.”¹

The meaning of the passage as explained by Walther is clear. “ In past times, during other reigns, you were not a formidable competitor, you were not ‘in the running.’ You had then no chance, and therefore the semblance of ambition did you no harm, as you were a harmless competitor. Now you are a most formidable rival to Vitellius, and you can no longer with safety to yourself wear the semblance of ambition, for the semblance means your destruction by Vitellius. Therefore the throne itself is now thy only sanctuary. You must destroy Vitellius, or Vitellius will destroy you.” Walther’s note is as follows : “ *Abiit tempus quo posses videri concupisse ; nam eo usque nunc rerum profectus es, ut nemo dubitet te re vera concupiscere, ut non possis falsam arguere speciem et suspicionem. Nihil jam aliud tibi reliquum est, quam ut confugas ad imperium.*” It would appear, therefore, that both Rupert and Madvig were hasty in their

¹ *Hamlet*, Act i. sc. 2.

emendation, "*Quo posses videri non cupisse.*" Still less justified is Heræus in reading "*Quo posses videri concupisse aut non cupisse.*"

II. 77: "*Discrimen ac pericula ex æquo partiemur.*" "In difficulty and danger we shall be co-partners." *Partiemur* is the emendation of Puteolanus for the Medicean MS. *Patiemur*. Meiser follows Puteolanus, and cites Vergil, *Æn.*, xi. 509:

"Sed nunc, est omnia quando
Iste animus supra, mecum *partire* laborem."

The reasoning of Meiser would appear very convincing: "*Partiemur* cum Puteolano scripsi, quia *prosperarum adversarumque rerum ordo* constituitur *parti*endo, non *pati*endo, et pericula non tam *pati*mur quam adimus, suscipimus, sustinemus. Aliter enim dictum est apud Sallust., *Jugurth.*, 44, *neque periculi neque laboris patiens.*" Confer Ovid, *Metam.*, v. 565:

"Jupiter ex æquo volentem dividit annum."

II. 79: "Cuncta impetu militum acta, *non parata contione*, non conjunctis legionibus." "The movement was quite spontaneous on the part of the soldiery, for there were neither packed meetings nor military combinations." *Parata contio* clearly means "a packed meeting," as is proved by *Annals*, xi. 35: "Incensumque et ad minas erumpentem castris infert, *parata contione militum*; apud quos *præmonente Narcisso* pauca verba fecit; nam etsi justum dolorem pudor impediabat, *Continuus dehinc cohortium clamor* nomina reorum et pœnas flagitantium."

II. 84: "*Non jus aut verum in cognitionibus, sed solam magnitudinem opum spectabat.*" "In these fiscal inquisitions he regarded neither law nor fact, but simply the size of his victim's purse." I have so fully commented on the meaning of this passage both in the note *ad locum*

and in the Appendix, that I wish merely here to call the reader's attention to a passage in Cicero where *verum* is used technically to express a question of fact. In Cicero, *Or.*, 34. 121, we find: "Res facit controversiam aut de *vero* aut de *recto* aut de *nomine*."

II. 86: "Sed procurator aderat Cornelius Fuscus, vicens ætate, claris natalibus. Prima juvenia *inquies cupidine* senatorium ordinem exuerat; idem pro Galba dux coloniæ suæ eaque opera procurationem adeptus, susceptis Vespasiani partibus acerrimam bello facem prætulit: non tam præmiis periculorum quam ipsis periculis lætus pro certis et olim partis nova ambigua ancipitia malebat." "But there was the procurator, Cornelius Fuscus, in the vigour of life and of distinguished birth. In early youth, fired by restless ambition, he had thrown up his seat in the Senate; then had led his colony fighting for Galba, whereby he gained his procuratorship; and finally, espousing the cause of Vespasian, his fiery nature flamed fiercely like a brand in the van of the war. He revelled not so much in danger's prizes as in danger itself, and yearned for change, peril, and adventure rather than a life of staid and stale security."

Inquies cupidine is the magnificent emendation of Meiser for the meaningless *quietis cupidine* of the Medicean MS. By a stroke of the critic's pen, and in conformity with all the canons of modern criticism, a picture is conjured up, from the dusty parchment, of the past, full of life and beauty and originality. We now see the knight-errant in his true colours. The first canon of modern criticism is never to depart from the text of a manuscript of repute unless that text is meaningless or repugnant to the context. Now, here the reading of the Medicean manuscript, *quietis cupidine*, is quite insensible

and repugnant to the whole character of Cornelius Fuscus, as given not alone in the passage under comment, but likewise by the poet Juvenal. Here in the present passage we are told that Fuscus revelled not so much in danger's prizes as in danger itself, and yearned for change, peril, and adventure rather than a life of staid and stale security. How is this *quietis cupidine*? Is it not rather the restless fever of the knight-errant—*inquires cupidine*? Again, how has Juvenal described him?—

“Et qui vulturibus servabat viscera Dacis
Fuscus, marmorea meditatus proelia villa.”¹

Was this *quietis* or was it *inquires cupidine*? Maclean, in his excellent commentary on Juvenal, thus interprets the meaning: “The degrading life of a Roman senator of his day did not suit him. He longed for active service.” Martial, too, in his epitaph on Fuscus (vi. 76) bears this out:

“Ille sacri lateris custos, Martisque togati,
Credita cui summi castra fuere ducis,
Hic situs est Fuscus. Licet hoc, Fortuna, fateri,
Non timet hostiles jam lapis iste minas.
Grande jugum domita Dacus cervice recepit,
Et famulum victrix possidet umbra nemus.”

But Meiser supports his emendation out of the very mouth of Tacitus himself. In *Annals*, i. 68, we find the following marvellously similar passage: “Haud minus *inquires* Germanus spe, *cupidine* et diversis ducum sententiis agebat.” Moreover, the historian was extremely fond of the expression, as may be seen from the following passages from the *Annals*, as in i. 74: “Formam vitæ iniit (*Hispo*) quam postea celebrem miseriæ temporum et audaciæ hominum fecerunt. Nam egens, ignotus, *inquires*, dum occultis libellis sævitæ principis adrepat, mox claris-

¹ *Satires*, iv. 112.

simo cuique periculum facessit, potentiam apud unum, odium apud omnes adeptus dedit exemplum, quod secuti ex pauperibus divites, ex contemptis metuendi perniciem aliis ac postremum sibi invenere." Again, in xiv. 14 we have "*inquires animo*" as describing a perturbed spirit; and in i. 65 we find "*Nox per diversa inquires;*" and yet again, in vi. 18, "*in moribus inquires.*" Thus Meiser, the great critic, has evolved the glowing picture of an ancient Earl of Peterborough, so admirably described by Lord Macaulay in his essay on the Spanish succession: "He was, in truth, the last of the knights-errant, brave to temerity, liberal to profusion, courteous in his dealings with enemies, the protector of the oppressed, the adorer of women. His virtues and vices were those of the Round Table. Indeed, his character can hardly be better summed up than in the lines in which the author of that clever little poem, "*Monks and Giants*," has described Sir Tristram:

"His birth, it seems by Merlin's calculation,
Was under Venus, Mercury, and Mars;
His mind with all their attributes was mixed,
And, like those planets, wandering and unfixed.
From realm to realm he ran, and never staid:
Kingdoms and crowns he won, and gave away:
It seemed as if his labours were repaid
By the mere noise and movement of the fray:
No conquests nor acquirements had he made;
His chief delight was on some festive day
To ride triumphant, prodigal, and proud,
And shower his wealth amidst the shouting crowd."

What a marvellous resemblance in all this to the language of Tacitus! Compare the words, "*non tam præmiis periculorum quam ipsis periculis lætus*," with—

"It seemed as if his labours were repaid
By the mere noise and movement of the fray."

Our readers, we feel sure, will appreciate the benefit of

such criticism as Meiser's on this passage, and few indeed will doubt that here, at all events, light has been drawn out of darkness. Grotius has proposed as an emendation *quæstus cupidine*, which has been adopted by Heræus. But we have shown that gain or profit never could have captivated the mind of Fuscus, for undoubtedly Juvenal pictures him as weary of his marble villa :

“*Fuscus marmorea meditatus prælia villa.*”¹

We must therefore reject this proposed emendation of Grotius and Heræus, and adopt the brilliant elucidation of Meiser. It is very rarely indeed that an emendation throws such a glow of light on the subject as this reading of Meiser, and if he had done nothing else, this one discovery would have entitled him to the gratitude of scholars. Such criticism breathes life into the past, and conjures up before the mind's eye visions of yore radiant with light and beauty.

II. 87: “*Calonum numerus amplior, procacissimis etiam inter servos lixarum ingeniis.*” “Still more numerous were the camp-servants, and not even slaves could be more ungovernable than sutlers.”

This passage is full of interest, and has been misinterpreted by reason of two errors. First, the distinction between *calones* and *lixæ* has not been observed. Secondly, the Tacitean use of *inter*, as a word of comparison rather than of classification, has not been regarded. The second error followed from the first. In his able essay, entitled “*Horæ Taciteæ*,” in *III. Hermathena*, Mr. William Nesbitt, M.A., T.C.D., observes, when commenting on the words *per lixas calonesque* of i. 49, *ante*, at page 429: “The translation of Messrs. Church and Brodribb—‘sutlers and

¹ Juvenal, *Sat.*, iv. 112.

camp-followers'—identifies the 'lixæ' and 'calones,' who, it is scarce necessary to say, were distinct. '*Lixæ*' (doubtless from the root of 'elixus,' 'lixæ' = 'water;' an original 'lixarius' perhaps would be thus clipped by the soldier's wit) are 'sutlers' or 'camp-followers,' who supplied the soldiers with goods and provisions of various kinds for their own profit; '*cālonēs*' (probably 'caballones,' from the vulgar designation of a horse 'caballus,' = 'grooms;') we have a reminiscence of the connection in Hor., *Sat.*, i. 6. 103: 'plures calones atque caballi Pascendi') are soldiers' slaves (*vide* Döderlein, *Syn.*, iv. 285). Translate, 'sutlers and camp-servants.'"

Calones were, therefore, soldiers' slaves. To the same effect is Festus, p. 62, Müller's edition (cited by Meiser): "Calones militum servi dicti." *Lixæ*, or "sutlers," were, on the other hand, free men, and not slaves. Thus in *Annals*, ii. 62, we find: "Veteres illic Sueborum prædæ et nostris e provinciis *lixæ ac negotiatores* reperti, quos jus commercii, dein cupido augendi pecuniam, postremum oblivio patriæ suis quemque ab sedibus hostilem in agrum transtulerat." The derivation of the word is shown by Nonius, cited by Meiser, "Lixarum proprietas hæc est quod officium sustineant militibus aquæ vehendæ; *lixam* namque *aquam* veteres vocaverunt." As *lixæ* were free men and not slaves, it becomes at once apparent that the words in the text, "procacissimis etiam inter servos *lixarum ingeniis*," cannot be translated, "the temper of sutlers is the most ungovernable *amongst* slaves," for, as sutlers were free men, how could they be *amongst slaves*? This demonstrates that Tacitus here uses *inter* as a word of comparison, and not of classification. So Dübner: "Vel si cum servorum ingeniis *compares*, etiam hæc procacitate superantia."

In this passage, then, it will be seen that Tacitus uses *inter* as a word of comparison, and not of classification. It will be noticed that the use in this passage of *inter* as a word of comparison is different from another idiomatic use by Tacitus of the same word. In *III. Hermathena*, at page 397, Mr. Nesbitt observes that “Messrs. Church and Brodribb seem to have been misled by the ordinary meaning of the word into thinking that *inter* implies a contrast, a notion which suggested their mistranslation of ‘*inter gaudentes et incuriosos*’ (cap. i. 34 : ‘between the delight of some and the indifference of others’); but a consideration of the passages cited shows clearly that this is not the case.”

In the passage under comment, however, the word *inter* does imply a contrast or comparison. Yet Messrs. Church and Brodribb have not availed themselves of the idiom. They translate: “And of all slaves the slaves of soldiers are the most unruly.” But *lixæ*, or “sutlers,” were not slaves, but free men, and the learned translators are here confounding them with *cālones*. Therefore their translation cannot stand.

The other idiomatic and Tacitean use of *inter* has been fully pointed out by Heræus and Mr. Nesbitt. “It is,” says Mr. Nesbitt, *III. Hermathena*, pp. 396, 397, “an extension to concrete nouns of the classical use of *inter*, denoting the circumstances of the case, before abstract nouns, as in the phrases, ‘*leges silent inter arma*,’ ‘*natus in libero populo inter jura legesque*,’ and may be resolved by a subordinate adverbial sentence, or by the ablative absolute, with the missing participle of *esse*. It occurs in Livy, xiii. 22 : ‘*credula fama inter gaudentes et incuriosos*;’ but it is in Tacitus that we find it most frequent. The following passages, collected by Heræus,

fully illustrate the use :—*Hist.*, i. 34 : ‘credula fama inter gaudentes et incuriosos’ (i.e. ‘cum omnes essent gaudentes et incuriosi’); *ibid.*, i. 50 : ‘utraque vota detestanda inter duos’ (i.e. ‘cum duo essent’); *ibid.*, ii. 92 : ‘inter discordes’ (i.e. ‘cum discordes essent’); *ibid.*, i. 26, and *Annals*, i. 50 : ‘inter temulentos’ (i.e. ‘cum temulenti essent’); *Hist.*, i. 1 : ‘inter infensos vel obnoxios’ (i.e. ‘cum alii infensi, alii obnoxii essent’).”

When *inter* is used in this idiomatic sense by Tacitus, it may well be translated by our idiomatic “what with,” as in i. 1 : “ita neutris cura posteritatis *inter* infensos vel obnoxios,” may be translated : “Thus what with hatred and servility the future was unheeded.”

II. 92 : “Simul ipsum Vitellium, subitis offensis aut intempestivis blanditiis mutabilem, contemnebant metuebantque.” “Vitellius, too, by his capricious fits of temper and maudlin gush, inspired them both with feelings of alternate scorn and fear.” The words “subitis offensis aut intempestivis blanditiis” are predicative and not instrumental ablatives, and therefore must be taken with *mutabilem* as descriptive of Vitellius. So Ritter (cited by Meiser) : “Et offensæ et blanditiæ ipsius Vitellii dicuntur; illas Cæcina et Valens metuebant, has contemnebant. Liberius igitur *mutabilis* vox juncta cum subitis offensis aut intempestivis blanditiis, qui sunt ablativi prædicati, non instrumenti, ut grammatici loquuntur.” Meiser compares cap. lix. *ante* : “Quamvis odium Vitellius vernilibus blanditiis velaret.”

II. 92 : “Abditis pecuniis per occultos aut ambitiosos sinus.” “By secretly depositing their moneys in the pockets of obscure or influential trustees.” *Sinus* was the fold of the toga which made a pocket, but it also meant a place of privacy or concealment. The double meaning can be

illustrated by many passages. In the sense of purse we find, amongst many, the following illustrations: Quintilian, vii. 1. 30: "Aurum in sinu ejus invenerunt;" Propertius, ii. 16. 11:

"Cynthia non sequitur fasces, non curat honores:
Semper amatorum ponderat illa sinus."

In the sense of trustee or receiver, we find the following passage in Pliny, xxxvi. 15. 24, § 116: "M. Scaurus Marianis sodaliciis rapinarum provincialium sinus." Again, in *Annals*, xiii. 13, we find: "Tum Agrippina versis artibus per blandimenta juvenem adgredi, suum potius cubiculum ac sinum offerre contegendis quæ prima ætas et summa fortuna expeterent." Hence the full meaning of *sinus* in this passage is brought out by the English rendering, "the pockets of trustees."

II. 99: "Tandem inruptione hostium atrocibus undique nuntiis exterritus Cæcinam ac Valentem expedire ad bellum jubet." "At length, when the foe was bursting into Italy, Vitellius, appalled by the dread news, ordered Cæcina and Valens to the front."

The words *inruptione hostium* indicate the ablative of time, and do not depend, as Heræus contends, on *exterritus*. Meiser appositely refers to i. 89: "motu Vindicis;" ii. 5: "exitu Neronis;" ii. 59: "Adpulsu litoris." Accordingly Roth translates the words thus: "*Beim Einbruch der Feinde*."

II. 99: "*Fluxa arma*." "Their arms were damaged." Compare cap. xxii., *ante*: "Neglecta aut ævo fluxa comminus adgredi;" also (as cited by Meiser) Livy, xxi. 40. 9: "Quassata fractaque arma, claudi ac debiles equi." The alternative translation of "loose" or "slipping from their grasp" is quite fanciful, and Meiser thus comments on it: "Minus recte alii interpretari videntur; *schlotternde*

Waffen—ut Gerber et Greef in Lexico Taciteo, s.v. ‘*Fluxus*’ explicant—de laxis membris pæne delabentia, *schlaff herabhängend*.”

VEXILLA, “*Detachments*.”

There has been such confusion about the meaning of the term *vexilla*, that I deem it necessary to call the attention of the reader especially to its true meaning, and, as Meiser, Heræus, and all the English commentators are now at last at one upon the subject, I cannot do better than set forth the following admirable *précis* by Mr. William Nesbitt, M.A., T.C.D., in *III. Hermathena*, at p. 417: “The meaning of the word ‘*vexillum*’ is in itself quite vague, and this has given rise to the greatest confusion in its interpretation. It may, therefore, be worth while to state concisely its several uses. Besides its primary meaning of ‘a standard,’ and occasionally ‘the company’ which bears the standard (i. 36), the word has two main significations: (1) Any *detachment* from any branch of the service, placed for special duty under a distinct command, had its own ‘*vexillum*,’ and is named ‘*vexillum*,’ or ‘*vexillatio*,’ so that we cannot know the significance of the word in any particular place unless it be associated with the name of the corps to which the detachment belongs, or we can ascertain this from the context. Thus we read of ‘*vexilla*’ from single legions, ‘*tertiæ decimæ legionis vexillum*’ (ii. 34); of combined ‘*vexilla*’ from several legions, such as ‘*Germanica vexilla*,’ *i.e.* the detachments drawn by Nero from the army of Lower Germany for the war in the East (i. 6); the ‘*inferioris exercitus electi*’ of cap. 61; of ‘*vexilla*’ of the *auxiliary* forces, as in i. 70, where the ‘*Germanorum vexilla*’ are opposed to the legionary troops; and again, quite generally,

of 'vexilla equitum' (ii. 11); 'vexilla tironum' (*Annals*, ii. 78).

"(2) The name stands for 'veterans,' who, having served twenty years, were, after their discharge, attached to some corps with special privileges. To be sure that the word bears this meaning, we must have the full designation, 'vexilla veteranorum,' or the reference must be manifest from the context."

IV. AN ELIZABETHAN TRANSLATOR OF TACITUS.

My friend Mr. Justice O'Brien has kindly placed at my disposal the translation of Tacitus by Henry Savile, bearing date 1598. Making fair allowance for imperfect texts of Tacitus and the slender sources of information existing at that time, this translation, now three hundred years old, is quite a wonderful production. I propose here to give my readers, first, a short extract from the preface of this remarkable book, and then the author's translation of the second and third chapters of the first book of the *History*. They will observe that Savile's translation of the second chapter of the first book imitates the brevity of Tacitus, and fully justifies my own attempt to reproduce the abrupt method of the historian. In his preface Savile observes :¹

"For Tacitus I may say, without partialitie, that he hath written the most matter with best conceite in fewest words of any Historiographer, ancient or moderne. But he is harde. Difficilia quæ pulchra : the seconde reading over will please thee more than the first, and the third than the second. . . . In these four bookes of the storie thou shalt see all the miseries of a torne and declining state : the

¹ I have preserved the old spelling.

Empire usurped; the Princes murdered; the people wavering; the souldiers tumultuous; nothing unlawfull to him that hath power, and nothing so unsafe as to be securely innocent. In Galba thou maiest learne, that a good prince governed by evil ministers is as dangerous as if he were evill himselfe. By Otho, that the fortune of a rash man is *Torrenti similis*, which rises at an instant, and falles in a moment. By Vitellius, that he that hath no vertue can never be happie: for by his own basenes he will loose all, which either fortune or other man's labours have cast upon him. By Vespasian, that in civill tumults an advised patience and opportunitie well taken are the only weapons of advantage. In them all, and in the state of Rome under them, thou maiest see the calamities that follow civill warres, where lawes lie asleepe, and all things are judged by the sworde. If thou mislike their warres, be thankful for thine own peace; if thou dost abhor their tyrannies, love and reverence thine owne wise, just, and excellent Prince. If thou dost detest their anarchie, acknowledge our owne happie government, and thanke God for hir, under whom England enjoyes as many benefits as ever Rome did suffer miseries under the greatest Tyrant."

Savile's translation of the second and third chapters of the first book of the History.

II. "A worke I take here in hand containing sundry changes, bloudie battailes, violent mutinies, peace full of cruelty and perill: foure emperors slaine with sworde, three civill warres, forraine many mo, and oft both at once: good successe in the East, bad in the West. Illyricum troubled: the countries of Gallia wavering: Brittany all conquered, not all retained: invasions of the Sarmatian and Suevian nation: the Dacian giving and taking notable

overthrowes: the Parthians also almost in armes, abused by a counterfayt Nero. Now for Italy, it was afflicted with many miseries, some never heard of, some not of many yeares before: townes burnt or overwhelmed: the most fruitfull tract of Campania, and the city of Rome wasted by fire: the most ancient temples consumed to ashes: even the Capitol itselfe set on fire by the citizens owne hands: the holy ceremonies profaned: great adulteries: the islands replenished with banished men: the cliffes stained with blood: and yet greater rage of cruelty in the city: to have been welthy or nobly borne, was a capital crime; offices of honour likewise either to beare, or forbear them; and vertue the readie broad way to most assured destruction. Neither were the wicked practises of the informers more odious than was the recompense they obtained. Some gained as spoils Pontifical dignities and consuls' rooms: some other Procuratorships and inward credit, making havocke of all without any difference. The bondmen, upon hatred or feare, were allured to betray their owne masters, the freedman his patrone: and where enemies were wanting, one friend ruined another."

III. "And yet for all this, was not the age so utterly void of all good, but that it yeelded some good examples. Divers wives were content to take such part as their banished husbands did: divers mothers, as their children: some kinsfolks hardy: some sonnes in law faithfull: some bondmen no racke could remove from being true to their masters: the death of some honourable men, and their last torments manfully borne, and to be matched with those of auncient times. Besides so manifold changes in humane affaires, many prodigious sights were seen in heaven and earth; many forewarnings by thunders; many

presages of things to come, some portending good lucke, some bad ; some ambiguous and doubtfull, some plaine and evident ; such heavie and horrible calamities in the Roman estate, yeelding proofes never more pregnant, that the gods are carefull rather to revenge our wrongs, than provide for our safety."

UPPER AND LOWER GERMANY.

Our readers must bear in mind that *Lower Germany* was the northern province, lower down the Rhine, and included Belgium, part of Holland, Luxemburg, and Cologne and Bonn ; whereas, *Upper Germany* comprised Mayence or Mainz (*Mogontiacum*), Coblenz or Coblenz (*Confluentes*), and Bingen (*Bingium*). Mr. Spooner, in his accurate note at p. 156 of his edition of the *History*, points out that the boundary between Lower and Upper Germany was between Andernach and Remagen, near Brohl.

THE HISTORY OF CORNELIUS TACITUS.

BOOK I.

THE HISTORY OF CORNELIUS TACITUS.

BOOK I.

I. I OPEN with Galba's second consulship when Vinius was his colleague, for many authors have narrated Rome's past of eight hundred and twenty years. When the Republic formed their theme, they wrote with equal eloquence and independence. After the battle of Actium, when the interests of peace necessitated despotism, those mighty intellects vanished and truth was sapped in divers ways. First, by unpatriotic indifference; next, flattery; then, disaffection. Thus what with hatred and servility the future was unheeded. It is natural to shun literary sycophancy, but slanderous malignity catches the ear; for flattery is the slave's brand, while malice masquerades as liberty. I stand indifferent towards Galba, Otho, Vitellius. Admitting that Vespasian created my position, amplified by Titus, exalted by Domitian,¹ still I am bound in honour to write without prejudice. Blessed² Nerva's reign and Trajan's empire will store my old age, if spared, with a subject more fruitful and less troublous in these singularly happy days of freedom of thought and utterance.

A.D. 69;
A.U.C. 822.
Scope of the
history.
Sketch of the
past.
Our author's
principles and
his project.

II. I approach my theme—harvest of ruin, direful battles, discord, mutiny, even ruthless peace! Four princes slain; three wars civil, more foreign, often both; success eastwards, misfortune westwards; Illyricum revolt-

A world of
horrors.
Destruction of
Herculeanum
and Pompeii.

¹ We know from the historian himself (*Annals*, xi. 11) that he was appointed prætor by Domitian. We have no positive knowledge of the steps in his earlier promotion, but there can be little doubt that he was quæstor under Vespasian, and either tribune or ædile under Titus.

² The English word "blessed" appears to be the nearest equivalent for *divus*. It implies both death and beatification akin to the ancient apotheosis.

ing, Gaul wavering, Britain lost as soon as won; Sarmatæ and Suebi arrayed against us; the Dacian ennobled by retaliatory victories; Parthia nearly in arms over the sham-Nero juggle;¹ Italy oppressed by disasters new or cyclic. Cities²—Campania's fairest border, engulfed or overwhelmed; Rome ravaged by the fire-brand, her oldest shrines consumed, her very Capitol in flames by Roman hands, her holy offices desecrated, her nobles adulterers; the sea exile-freighted, islands bloodstained! Still worse in Rome: rank, wealth, office declined or taken, a crime! virtue, certain death! informers' booty no less odious than their guilt; priesthoods, consulates, procuratorships, court-offices, seized as loot; all things o'erwhelmed in commingled hate and terror; slaves bribed against masters, freedmen against patrons; men without an enemy crushed by friends!

III. Yet the age was not quite bereft of virtue's bright
Glims of light.
 Some noble
 spirits. examples. Mothers accompanied children, wives followed husbands into exile. Kinsfolk and sons-in-law³ had constant hearts, and faithful slaves defied the torture. Heroes braved the worst and died like history's martyrs.⁴ Akin to divers human disasters were prodigies of heaven and earth—omens of thunder, auguries good or ill, dark or manifest. Never did more dreadful calamities or signal warnings prove that Heaven watched, not for our protection, but for our chastisement.⁵

¹ *Falsi Neronis ludibrio* Heræus well translates, "*Ueber dieses Gaukelepiel berichtet.*"

² I follow Meiser (editor new *Orelli*) in supporting the text of the Medicean MS., "*Haustæ aut obrutæ urbes, fecundissima Campaniæ ora.*" The words *fecundissima Campaniæ ora* are in the nominative in apposition to *urbes*, as was long ago seen by J. Müller. Professor Heræus, following Wölfflin (*Philol.*, xxvii. 121-124), expunges *urbes* more ruthlessly than the lava of yore, and reads, "*hausta aut obruta fecundissima Campaniæ ora.*" No wonder Meiser observes, "*Quæ ratio minime potest probari. Nam deleto verbo urbes, quod maximum et gravissimum erat, interitum urbium, e textu sustulit!*" The argument of Heræus, founded on the repetition of *urbes* and *urbs* in the one sentence, is jejune in the extreme, as *urbs* is of course the city *par excellence*—Rome; and Livy (ii. 39) has the word *urbem* repeated in the same sentence.

³ A graceful allusion to the heroic Helvidius Priscus, son-in-law of the renowned Thræsea Pætus.

⁴ Such as Socrates, Phocion, Demosthènes, Cicero, Cato, Thræsea Pætus. The writings of Tacitus strengthen the political position of Cicero, so superbly vindicated by the brilliant scholarship of Professor Tyrrell. See my Introduction.

⁵ Tacitus was a pessimist, and, considering the age in which he lived, no wonder

IV. Yet, before proceeding, we need a retrospect of Rome's condition, the military attitude, the provincial position, the world's sound and sickly spots, to apprehend, not merely every blind occurrence, but its philosophical cause. The first impulse on Nero's death was joyful, but then conflicting emotions ensued in Rome, not only among the senators, people, and city soldiery, but among all the legions and generals, on disclosure of the State secret that the purple could be given outside Rome. The senators rejoiced in their immediate gain of freedom towards a new and absent prince; the leading knights were nearly as elated; respectable, well-connected people, clients and freedmen of prisoners and exiles, grew hopeful; but the *canaille*, scum of circus and theatre, the lowest slaves, or Nero's profligate minions, were dejected and restless.

A retrospect.
The philosophy
of history.
Nero's death.
The State
secret.

V. The city soldiery, long trained in their allegiance to the Cæsars, had been artfully impelled against their grain to desert Nero; and, when they saw no donative as promised in Galba's name, that peace cramped great merits and rewards more than war, and that the legions had anticipated them with the emperor, already mutinous, they were inflamed by the treason of their prefect, Nymphidius Sabinus. Nymphidius fell in the attempt; still, although he was gone, most of the soldiers remained callous, and sneered at Galba's age and avarice. The famous and once renowned martinet now irritated men who spurned ancient discipline, men trained for fourteen years by Nero to love the vices as they once revered the virtues of their princes.

The city
soldiery.
Their mutinous
spirit.
Nymphidius
Sabinus.
Causes of
Galba's
unpopularity.

Another source was Galba's patriotic but suicidal utterance, "I choose, but do not buy, my soldiers." The world was not up to this level.¹

¹ *Nec enim ad hanc formam cetera erant.* *Cetera* here means "the world." Heræus well explains, "Denn das Übrige war nicht danach, d. h. die sonstigen Verhältnisse standen mit diesem Tone nicht in Einklang. Der gestrenge Ton passte nicht in die Zeit hinein." He compares c. 18, *infra*: "Antiquus rigor et nimia severitas, cui jam pares non sumus." The new edition of *Orelli* admits this meaning at the end of the note: "Immo et tempora ipsa et militum animus non congruebant cum severitate prodita illa tam magnifica voce." In our judgment the explanation of Heræus is the more accurate and philosophical.

VI. The infamy of Vinius and poltroonery of Laco were ruining the dotard as the scape-goat of their crimes and cowardice. The blood of Cingonius Varro, consul-elect, and the consular Petronius Turpilianus, marked Galba's trail. Varro, as abetter of Nymphidius, Turpilianus, as Nero's general, perished, unheard and undefended, like innocent men. The entry into Rome, ill-spiced by wholesale butchery,¹ made even the murderers shudder. The legions, "Galba's own Spanish,"² just arrived, and "Nero's marines,"³ quartered there, filled Rome with strange soldiery. There were, besides, many contingents from Germany, Britain, and Illyricum, chosen by Nero and sent to the Caspian passes⁴ and Albanian war, but recalled to crush the Vindex insurrection; great fuel for revolution, and, in the absence of favourites, at any adventurer's service.

VII. The executions of Macer and Capito chanced to synchronize. Macer, clearly treasonable in Africa, was authoritatively executed by the procurator Garutianus; but the lieutenants-general, Cornelius Aquinus and Fabius Valens, had, without warrant, slain Capito on a similar charge in Germany.

Some believed that Capito, though stained by avarice and infamy, was no traitor; that the lieutenants-general, balked in luring him to insurrection, actually⁵ concocted the treacherous charge; and that Galba, either through weakness or to prevent

¹ The carnage was of a large unattached body of oarsmen from the fleet.

² The VII. Galbiana.

³ Prima Adjutrix Classicorum.

⁴ The Dariel Pass. Tacitus here was under a vulgar error, and, like most men of his day, confounded the "Caspia Portæ" with the "Caucasia Portæ." Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, vi. 11. 30) notices and corrects the error. Mr. Spooner, in his excellent note *ad locum*, observes, "The Caspia Portæ were the passes which led eastward from Persia into the steppes of Central Asia. The mention of the Albani here puts these out of the question; consequently, by the Claustra Caspiarum one of the two passes across the Caucasus must be meant—either the one which crosses the centre of the range, the modern road to Tiflis, now called the Dariel Pass (and this is Mommsen's view, *P.R.E.*, ii. 62), or that which skirts its eastern spurs, running between them and the Caspian." We follow Mommsen.

⁵ *Utro* may here be translated by "actually" or "even," or, with Heræus, by the German word *obendrein*. *Utro* in Tacitus signifies a subjective new departure towards some objective *ultra*. Compare cap. 41, *infra*, "*obtulissee ultro percussoribus jugulum*;" iv. 1, "*prodere ultro dites dominos*;" and Vergil, *Æn.*, 2. 145, "*His lacrimis vitam damus et miserecimus ultro*." For these references we are indebted to Heræus, but the definition of *ultra* is our own.

an abortive inquiry, had ratified the act. Both executions created bad impressions, and to Galba, once unpopular, everything, good or bad, brought ruin. Freedmen and corruption swayed. The gang hastened to batten while the dotard lived. The new court rivalled the old without excuse. Galba's very age was sneered at by men accustomed to Nero's youth, and, like the crowd, judging emperors by physical appearance.

VIII. Such was the feeling at Rome, as natural in that populous city.¹ Cluvius Rufus, eloquent and accomplished but no soldier, governed the province of Spain. Remembrance of Vindex, recent citizenship, and abatement of future tribute bound Gaul. Those Gallic states,² however, nearest the German armies received less consideration; nay, some, expatriated, gauged foreign honours and personal wrongs with equal indignation. Anxiety and anger (fatal in legions) swayed the German armies, proud of recent victory, fearful of the charge of disloyalty; reluctantly they abandoned Nero. Nor had Virginius joined Galba forthwith. His ambition is unknown, but, admittedly, the soldiery tendered the purple. There was much groundless indignation, too, over Capito's death. Leaderless, Virginius being recalled under plea of friendship, they resented his detention and impeachment as a personal charge.

The provinces of Spain and Gaul. Attitude of the German armies.

IX. The Upper Army³ scorned its lieutenant-general, Hordeonius Flaccus, a gouty dotard, nerveless, impotent, helpless even in tranquillity; no wonder mutineers actually⁴ chafed under his weak hand! The legions of Lower Germany⁵ were long without a consular, until Galba sent A. Vitellius, son of Vitellius censor and thrice consul. That seemed enough. The army

The army of Upper Germany. Hordeonius Flaccus. The armies of Lower Germany, Britain, and Illyricum.

¹ We approve the interpretation of Meiser in the new edition of *Orelli*; nor can we, with the utmost respect, accept the alternative explanation of Heræus: "as far as one could judge where the population was so vast." His quotation from Horace, *Satires*, i. 6. 79: "in magno ut populo," supports the view of Meiser and Orelli.

² The Treveri and Lingones. They had favoured Vindex; hence their punishment.

³ Consisting of three legions, IV. Macedonica, XXI. Rapax, XXII. Primigenia. Head-quarters at Mainz or Mayence (Mogontiacum) and Windisch, in the canton of Aargau (Vindonissa).

⁴ See note on *ultra*, ante, cap. vii.

⁵ Consisting of I. Germanica (at Bonn), V. Alaudæ, XV. Primigenia, quartered at Vetera (Xanten, near Wesel), and XVI. Gallica at Neuss (Novesium).

in Britain¹ was tranquil—irreproachable throughout the civil wars, either because afar and ocean-severed, or taught, as veterans, to reserve hatred for enemies. Illyricum² too was quiet, although the legions summoned by Nero, while dallying³ in Italy, interviewed Verginius. But these armies, far apart—excellent plan for discipline—could not combine either vices or forces.

X. The East was still tranquil. Licinius Mucianus, famous
The East.
Mucianus.
His character.
Vespasian in
Judæa. alike for prosperity and adversity, governed Syria and four legions.⁴ When young, he had ingratiated himself with the aristocracy; afterwards, bankrupt, discredited, fearing Claudius' displeasure, he secluded himself in Asia, as nearly exile as afterwards nearly emperor. Blend of effeminacy, energy; affability, insolence; good and evil. Sensual in repose, his virtues shone in action.⁵ Exemplary in public, in private odious; fascinating with subjects, neighbours, colleagues; fitter to bestow than to wear the purple.

Flavius Vespasian (Nero's general), commanding three legions,⁶ conducted the Jewish war. Vespasian bore no hostility to Galba, having sent his son Titus, as duly narrated, to pay homage and express devotion. After the event,⁷ we believed in fate's mysteries and auguries of empire to the Flavian house.

XI. Egypt and its garrison had, from blessed⁸ Augustus down, been governed by Roman knights as viceroys.
Egypt, Africa,
the Mauritania,
Rætia,
Noricum,
Thrace.
The unarmed
provinces and
Italy. This seemed the surest system of imperial government⁹ in a province, remote, corn-supplying, distracted by profligate superstition, lawless, and anarchical. Tiberius Alexander, an Egyptian, was

¹ Consisting of II. Augusta, IX. Hispania, XX. Valeria.

² Illyricum included Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Mœsia. In Pannonia were quartered the XIII. Gemina and (subsequently) VII. Galbiana; in Dalmatia, the XI. Claudia, XIV. Gemina Martia Victrix; in Mœsia, VII. Claudia, VIII. Augusta, III. Gallica.

³ Classen, followed by Hærens, reads *cunctatur* for the manuscript *cunctantur*, but if *cunctatur* be the true reading, it should be preceded by *is*, as pointed out by Orelli.

⁴ III. Gallica, IV. Scythica, VI. Ferrata, XII. Fulminata.

⁵ *Expedire* here means "to go into action," "to go on an expedition."

⁶ V. Macedonica, X. Fretensis, XV. Apollinaris.

⁷ When Vespasian was on the throne.

⁸ See note on *divus*, cap. i., *ante*.

⁹ Egypt was an imperial as contradistinguished from a senatorial province.

then viceroy. Africa and its legions¹ were, upon Macer's execution, satisfied with any prince after tasting petty tyranny. Both Mauritania,² Rætia,³ Noricum,⁴ Thrace, and other Cæsarian⁵ provinces, varied in sympathy or hostility under the dominating touch of every neighbouring army. The unarmed provinces,⁶ especially helpless Italy, were destined war-prizes. Such the condition of the empire when Galba, twice consul, with Vinus inaugurated a year, their last, almost last of the Commonwealth.

XII. Close after the 1st of January, a letter from Belgica of the Procurator Pompeius Propinquus announced that the legions of Upper Germany had mutinied, demanding another emperor, and, to palliate their treason, had left the choice to the Senate and Roman people.

A.D. 69;
A.U.C. 822.
Mutiny of the
army of Upper
Germany.
Galba's design
of adoption.

That event precipitated Galba's long-premeditated and deliberative design of adoption—the chief topic at that time, principally through love of gossip, and also through Galba's senility. Few showed judgment or patriotism; many silly people puffed their several friends and patrons⁷ even to spite Vinus, whose unpopularity grew with his power.

For Galba's easy temper whetted the maw of favourites, whose vices had less to fear and more to gain from an impotent dotard.

XIII. Titus Vinus, consul, and Cornelius Laco, prætorian prefect, were supreme. Icelus, Galba's freedman, was almost as influential—knighted with rings, and

Candidates for
adoption.
Otho.

¹ "*Africa ac legiones in ea*" is the reading of the manuscripts. Lipsius, followed by Heræus, reads *legio*, contending that there was then only one legion in Africa, namely, III. Augusta. But the new edition of *Orelli* demonstrates from inscriptions that there were two, namely, III. Augusta and Macriana Liberatrix. Nor does the word *contenta* following the plural *legiones* militate against the manuscript reading, as the emphatic singular *Africa* dominates.

² Tingitana (western), now Tangiers, and Cæsariensis (eastern), now Algiers.

³ The Tyrol.

⁴ According to Mr. Spooner and Heræus, Noricum comprised Styria, Carinthia, and part of Austria, extending along the Danube from its junction with the Inn to a little above Vienna.

⁵ Minor imperial provinces governed by procuratores without a viceroy.

⁶ Senatorial provinces (as contradistinguished from imperial) without military stations, and regulated by quæstors.

⁷ The puffer was an *amicus vel cliens*; the puffed was an *amicus vel patronus*. The words in the text, "*prout quis amicus vel cliens*," are in apposition to and explanatory of the preceding words, "*multi stulta spe*."

entitled Marcianus. These men, entirely at variance in private, split into two factions over the question of adoption. Vinus championed Otho. Laco and Icelus agreed to differ from Vinus. Galba was cognisant of Vinus' friendship for Otho—his future son-in-law, said gossip, as Vinus' daughter was spinster¹ and Otho unmarried. Perhaps, too, Galba thought of the Republic vainly saved from Nero if left to Otho, who, idle in boyhood, dissolute in youth, won Nero by licentious rivalry. Nero, accordingly, made him, as confidant, guardian of his paramour, Poppæa Sabina, pending Octavia's removal.² Afterwards, suspecting his relations with Poppæa, he politely banished him as Lusitanian governor. Otho proved an affable administrator; was the first to join Galba actively; and, after a brilliant campaign, became forthwith more and more sanguine of adoption, favoured by the soldiery and the Court as Nero's counterpart.

XIV. News of the mutiny in Germany made Galba, though Piso is sent for. Character sketch. uninformed concerning Vitellius, apprehensive of the point of insurgent outbreak. Distrusting even the city soldiery, he held, his only course, an imperial election.³ Besides Vinus and Laco, he consulted Marius Celsus, consul-elect, and Ducenius Geminus, city prefect. After touching on his age, he summoned Piso Licinianus, either voluntarily or, as some believe, at Laco's request, who had cultivated Piso through Rubellius Plautus, but now craftily disguised his intimacy, and Piso's reputation imparted credit to his recommendation. Piso, son of M. Crassus and Scribonia, thoroughbred aristocrat, born conservative, was, fairly judged, austere; cynics deemed him morose. This trait, despite suspicious pessimists, pleased his adopted father.

XV. Galba then, taking Piso's hand, spoke somewhat in this wise: "Were I, as a private person, to adopt you, Piso adopted by Galba. according to ritual before the pontiffs, my home would Galba's speech.

¹ *Vidua* here means "spinster," as in Livy, i. 46. 7: "*Et se rectius viduam et illum cælibem futurum fuisse.*" Heræus rightly translates it as *unvermählt*. Poor Octavia said, when trying to save her life from Nero, "*Jam viduam se et tantum sororem*" (*Annals*, xiv. 64).

² The historian uses the euphemism *amoliri*, to get rid of or remove—a euphemism not unknown in modern times.

³ Grim humour veiled under the technical legal formula, *transigere comitia consularia*.

be honoured by the scion of Cn. Pompeius and M. Crassus; nor could your rank disdain Sulpician and Lutatian trophies. I now, emperor by grace of gods and men, patriotically touched by your noble character, tender you in peace my war-prize, the purple, guerdon of our forefathers, following blessed Augustus,¹ who adopted his nephew Marcellus, then his son-in-law Agrippa, afterwards his grandsons, and finally his stepson, Tiberius Nero. But Augustus sought a successor in his family, I, in the republic, not lacking relatives or comrades; but I won the purple on ^{the} merits, so let my judgment be tested not alone by my connections, over which I have given you precedence, but by your own. You have an elder brother,² equally noble, second only to yourself in merit. Your age is past youth's passions. Your life stands blameless. Until now buffeted by fortune, her favours will probe your heart more deeply, for hardships test our fortitude, success corrupts us. Your constant heart will cling to honour, freedom, friendship, treasures of the soul, but sycophants will sap them. Flattery, blandishments, bane of sincerity, and selfishness will ^{assail} you. You and I speak from our hearts to-day. The world³ converses with our rank rather than with ourselves. Good advice to princes is indeed a task, court flattery a hollow sham.

XVI. "Could this colossal empire hold balance without a guiding hand, I might aspire to found a republic. Now our position has long been such that neither my age nor your youth can give Rome more than a good successor and a good emperor. Under Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius, we were a kind of heirloom. Election will now be liberty's equivalent, and, with Julian and Claudian titles extinct, adoption will find the best man. For imperial birth is chance—nothing more; adoption goes on merit, and public opinion directs the choice. Keep Nero in view, bloated with the Cæsar pedigree. Not Vindex and an unarmed province, not I with one legion, his own enormities, debaucheries,

¹ See note on *divus*, cap i., *ante*.

² Crassus Scribonianus. Piso's father, mother, and another brother were, as Mr. Spooner tells us in his note, executed by Claudius, while a third brother was murdered by Nero. These were "fortune's buffets."

³ *Ceteri* means "the world" (see note on *cetera*, cap. iii., *ante*).

hurled him from our necks—condemned without a precedent. Elected by war and merit, we shall not, however illustrious, escape calumny. Yet be not dismayed at the restlessness of two legions¹ after the earthquake. I too reached a troublous throne; but on news of your adoption the sole taunt of age will cease. Every villain will miss Nero; let us take heed that good men too may not regret him. This is no time for homilies, and, if you fulfil my choice, I'm satisfied. The readiest test of good and evil is how you would wish another emperor to act. Here is no ruling caste, like kings, over a world of slaves. Your subjects will be neither slaves nor anarchists."

Galba spoke in such wise as to a successor, the world as to an emperor.

XVII. Piso, cynosure of every eye, displayed, they say, perfect *sang froid* and absolute imperturbability. He spoke reverentially to his imperial father, modestly concerning himself, and remained impassive, like one capable rather than desirous of rule. The question then arose, should the adoption be proclaimed in the Forum, Senate, or Prætorian camp?² The latter was selected to please the soldiers, whose favour, honestly won, without corruption, would be no small gain. Meanwhile expectant crowds surrounded the palace, eager for the heart of the mystery soon bruited by indiscreet suppression.

XVIII. The 10th of January, murky and wet, was disturbed by thunder, lightning, and preternatural presages. This, of yore a ban upon elections, did not deter Galba from entering the camp. He laughed at chance, or was perhaps a fatalist.³ On full parade he announced with imperial brevity Piso's adoption, following blessed⁴ Augustus and the military custom of choosing a comrade.⁵ Lest concealment might exaggerate the mutiny, he actually⁶ asserted that the Fourth and

The 10th of
January,
A.D. 69.

¹ IV. Macedonica and XXII. Primigenia in Upper Germany.

² When Rome is the *locus in quo*, then *castra* means the Prætorian camp *par excellence*.

³ "A fatalist." The words, "*Seu quæ fato manent, quamvis significata, non vitantur*," represent the thought passing through the mind of Galba, not of Tacitus, and are therefore best translated as in the text.

⁴ See note on *divus*, cap. i., ante.

⁵ Compare Livy, ix. 39; x. 38.

⁶ See note on *ultro*, ante.

Twenty-second Legions, misled by some ringleaders into merely verbal insubordination, would soon return to duty. Neither blandishments nor bribes accompanied his speech, cheered, nevertheless, by the tribunes, centurions, and nearest soldiers. Gloomy silence elsewhere showed they had lost by war the donative,¹ their appanage² even in peace. Admittedly, even the old miser's dole would have conciliated them. Old-fashioned strictness and excessive austerity, quite above our level, proved fatal.

XIX. Galba next addressed the Senate as bluntly and curtly as the soldiery. Piso spoke gracefully. The senators applauded, many sincerely, opponents effusively; an indifferent majority, unpatriotic self-seekers, cringed. This was Piso's last public utterance or act during the ensuing four days³ between his adoption and murder.

Piso in the Senate. Envoys selected to visit the army in Germany.

As intelligence of the mutiny in Germany developed daily, and citizens readily hearkened to all bad news, the Senate determined to send envoys to the German army. Piso was also secretly proposed, for greater effect,⁴ to represent the purple, as the envoys would the Senate. Laco too, Prætorian prefect, was proposed, but objected. The official list of envoys (Galba's senatorial patronage) was scandalously manipulated by excuses, nominations, substitutions, intriguing to stay or go as fear or hope dictated.

XX. Finance next claimed attention; and, after full investigation, restitution from the sources of destitution seemed justest. Nero had squandered twenty millions⁵ in gifts. Galba issued separate creditor-summonses,⁶

The fiscal commission.

¹ Military largess first introduced by Claudius (see Suetonius, *Claudius*, x.; see the *Annals*, xii. 69. 3). Nero gave this largess even in peace (see *Annals*, xii. 41).

² "Appanage." This word, derived from *ad* and *panis*, best translates *usurpata necessitas*. Though this word is often spelt *apanage*, its derivation would seem to show that *appanage* is the more correct form. See, however, Dr. Murray's new *Historical Dictionary*, *sub verbo* "Apanage."

³ 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th of January. He was murdered on the 15th of January.

⁴ *Majore prætexto*. 'Ενὶ μεγάλῳι προσχήματι. Louandre well translates, "Pour donner plus de solennité à l'ambassade." Heræus also translates, "Zu grösserem Glanze."

⁵ *Bis et vicies milies sestertertium*, "2,200,000,000 sesterces." Following Table xvi. in the new edition of Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities* (vol. ii.), and leaving a margin, the English equivalent is about £20,000,000.

⁶ *Appellatio*, "a creditor-summons." The *locus classicus* is Cicero's playful

leaving a tithe to the debtors, which they scarcely had, having lavished others' money as their own, while the most rapacious profligates, landless and penniless, retained merely vice's garniture. Thirty Roman knights constituted this fiscal commission, novel and oppressive in jurisdiction¹ and constitution. The city resounded everywhere with auctions² and dealers. Yet people rejoiced that Nero's favourites should become as poor as his victims. Simultaneously the following tribunes were cashiered: Antonius Taurus and Antonius Naso, from the Guards; Æmilius Pacensis, from the City Cohorts; Julius Fronto, from the Watch. The callous residue began to fear that, universally suspected, they would be cleverly got rid of in detail.

XXI. Otho, meanwhile, hopeless in tranquillity, revolution

Otho. his mainstay, was spurred by manifold incentives—

luxury beyond even a prince's purse; poverty scarcely endurable even by a subject; rage towards Galba; towards Piso, jealousy. Nay, he worked himself into fear,³ to whet his

allusion (*Att.*, i. 8, Tyrrell's edition, vol. i.-v. to *Att.*): "*Tulliola, deliciolæ nostræ, tuum munusculum flagitat et me ut sponsores appellat. Mihi autem abjurare certius est quam dependere;*" translated by Professor Tyrrell with perfect accuracy: "My darling little Tullia is eager for the gift you promised her, and duns me as your representative. I am determined rather to repudiate than to pay for you." The *appellatio* here has nothing in common with the more technical *appellatio*, or "injunction," under the republic, or *appellatio*, "civil appeal," under the empire. See also Cicero, *II. Phil.*, c. 29, "*appellatus ex de pecuniâ.*"

¹ I agree with Meiser in the new edition of *Orelli* that *ambitus* here means "jurisdiction," and not "intrigue" or "corruption" (see Plutarch, *Galba*, xvi.: Τοῦ δὲ πράγματος ὅρον οὐκ ἔχοντος, ἀλλὰ πόρρω νεμομένου καὶ προϊόντος ἐπὶ πολλοὺς, αὐτὸς μὲν ἡδύσει). I also agree with Meiser that *ambitus* and *numerus* refer to the court, and not to the public.

² I read *auctionibus* with the new *Orelli*, and not *actionibus*.

³ *Fingeat et metum, quo magis concupisceret*, "Nay, he worked himself into fear, to whet his ambition." This, I submit, is the true meaning of one of the most subtle passages in classical literature, for the solution of which I am indebted to my friend R. Y. Tyrrell, Regius Professor of Greek, Trinity College, Dublin. Meiser is wrong in taking *fingeat* as equivalent to the *dissimulabat* of Suetonius: "Neque enim *dissimulabat* nisi principem se stare non posse nihilque referre ab hoste in acie, an in foro sub creditoribus caderet." As is the case with most of the high-strung passages in Tacitus (see, for example, my note on *in abruptum tractus*, cap. 48, *post*), the true meaning is to be found in Vergil; for, as *Orelli*, prince of critics, observes on *Annals*, xii. 33, "*Hic quoque Tacitus Vergilii cui meminerat.*" In Vergil, *Æn.*, viii 364, we find—

"Aude, hospes, contemnere opes, et te quoque dignum

Finge deo; rebusque veni non asper egenis."

Heyne clearly explains, "*Compone te mentemque informa ad similitudinem*

ambition: "I was Nero's eyesore.¹ Enough of Lusitania and a second exile's honours! Rulers ever suspect and loathe the favourite aspirant. My bane with Galba; still more with this savage youth, this embittered exile! They may murder Otho! Up! do and dare! while Galba wanes, ere Piso strengthens! Change favours mighty enterprises. Avoid delay, more fatal even than hazard! Death, nature's leveller, yet gives the badge of nothingness or glory! Same end awaits guilty and guileless. Let the brave man earn his death!"

XXII. Unlike his body, no effeminate soul was Otho's. His favourite freedmen and slaves, indulged beyond private households, pointed to Nero's court, luxury, amours, marriages, courtly vices, as Otho's coveted prize, if he dared; as lost, was their taunt, if he proved recreant. The astrologers, too, incited him by horoscopes predicting revolution and a glorious year for Otho. This class, treacherous to nobles, lure to aspirants, will ever be proscribed and patronized. Soothsayers thronged Poppæa's boudoir²—base accessories of imperial establishments.³ Ptolemy, one of them, accompanying Otho in Spain, predicted his survival of Nero. Gaining credit from the result, and guessing from gossip contrasting Galba's age and Otho's youth, he persuaded Otho of his imperial destiny. Otho,

The astrologers.

numinis." See also Forbiger. This, too, was the interpretation of Servius. Thus illuminated, the language of Tacitus becomes full of meaning and poetry. Otho actually persuaded himself that he was afraid, to give edge to his desires. It is clear from this that Heræus too is wrong in interpreting, "*Er gab auch vor, Furcht zu empfinden, um desto mehr seinen Wünschen nachhangen zu dürfen.*" He treats *fingebat* as equivalent to *simulabat*, which we have shown to be an error. See Introduction, and Vergil, *Æn.*, vi. 80; *Georg.*, ii. 407.

¹ *Prægravem se Neroni fuisse.* Strange to say, none of the commentators (English or German) cite the *locus classicus* on *prægravis* or *prægravare*. Horace, *Epist.*, ii. 1-13:

"*Urit enim fulgore suo qui prægravat artes*

Infra se positas. Extinctus amabitur idem."

In that celebrated passage *urit* actually means "pains" or "scorches" the eyes, and *extinctus* carries on the metaphor. Mr. Wilkins has an excellent note *ad locum*.

² *Secreta Poppææ.* Heræus well translates, "*Privatkabinet, Boudoir.*"

³ Meiser, in the new edition of *Orelli*, cites with approval Bournouff's elegant translation, "*détestable ameublement d'un ménage impérial.*" I believe this to be the correct interpretation; nor can I, with the utmost respect, accept the alternative rendering of Mr. Spooner, "the worst tools by which she secured her marriage with the emperor." The soothsayers were like slaves, the *supellex*, the *instrumenta*, of every imperial establishment—its accessories.

naturally predisposed to hearken to mystery, received the forecast as from prophetic seer.

XXIII. Ptolemy¹ failed not even to tempt to crime—easy transition from such yearnings. It is uncertain whether Otho's criminal intent was sudden. He had long, as aspirant or conspirator, tampered with the soldiers, naming every veteran he met marching or on outpost duty;² saluting them as old messmates in Nero's progresses; recognizing some, seeking others, helping with purse and influence; often interspersing complaints, hints at Galba, and popular incentives. The men resented severe marches, short rations, harsh discipline; once voyagers to Campanian lakes and Grecian cities,³ now toiling in heavy order⁴ over Pyrenees, Alps, and vast distances.

XXIV. Mævius Pudens, kinsman of Tigellinus,⁵ had, as it were, added fuel to the military flames. He allured every impressionable or indigent revolutionary, and gradually went so far that, whenever Galba supped with Otho, he gave the guard, as a treat, one hundred sesterces⁶ per man. Otho stimulated this *quasi*-public largess by individual douceurs, so daringly corrupt that when Cocceius Proculus, one of the body-guard,⁷ was engaged in a boundary dispute, he bought up and, through the remissness of the prefect, equally blind to things patent and latent, presented him with the whole of his neighbour's adjoining land.

XXV. He then appointed his freedman, Onomastus, con-

¹ Confounded by Suetonius with Seleucus, Vespasian's astrologer, *post*, ii. 78.

² *In itinere* simply means "on the road," and is therefore translated by the words "he met." *In agmine* means "in marching order" or "marching." *In stationibus* signifies "on outpost duty." As Heræus explains *statio* "*ist eine Lager—oder Feld-wache*," it therefore, by *implication*, means "when halting," or "in camp," or "in quarters," as these conditions necessitated outpost duty.

³ An allusion to Nero's artistic tours.

⁴ *Sub armis*, "in heavy order." The Roman soldier carried, according to Vegetius, sixty Roman pounds' weight. Marius made an arrangement for carrying this on a board, fastened on to a forked support strapped across the shoulders, and called *mulus Marianus* (see Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, i. 807, new edit.).

⁵ "*Pone Tigellinum: tæda lucebis in illa*

Qua stantes ardent qui fixo gutture fumant."—(Juvenal, i. 155.)

⁶ On a rough estimate, and following Table xvi. of the new edition of Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, Otho gave the guard about one pound sterling per man.

⁷ The *speculatores* were the body-guard of the emperor. As their name implies, they were originally scouts or picked men, naturally selected to form a body-guard.

spirator-in-chief. The latter introduced Barbius Proculus, orderly,¹ and Veturius, lieutenant,² of the body-guard; Otho found them, when tested, crafty and resolute; ^{Various artifices of the conspirators.} loaded them with gifts and promises, and supplied bribes for further corruption. Two common soldiers³ undertook to, and did, transfer the purple. There were but few conspirators. These stimulated waverers by various artifices: petty officers,⁴ as suspects through Nymphidius' bounty; rank and file,⁵ by anger and despair at the invariably postponed donative. Memories of Nero and past licence inflamed some; all trembled at the thought of being drafted into foreign service.⁶

XXVI. The contagion caught the legions⁷ and auxiliaries, already roused by news of disaffection in the army of Germany. So complete was the traitors' plot, so ^{Rife conspiracy.} silent were the loyal, that, as Otho returned from dinner on the 14th of January, the conspirators would have seized him, had they not dreaded the dark night, the scattered soldiery, and drunken disorganization. No patriots, but cold-blooded assassins, ready for the foul murder of their prince, they feared lest in darkness the soldiers of the Pannonian or German armies might blindly pitch on the first comer as Otho. The conspirators suppressed many indications of the outburst; Galba heard some, but Laco, the prefect, parried them⁸—quite out of all touch with

¹ *Tesserarius*. This petty officer received the watchword from the commanding officer and gave it to the men on duty. There was one *tesserarius* in each century (*Vegetius*, vi. 1056), and his functions are best described in the translation of Mr. Godley—"orderly," which I have adopted in the text.

² *Optio*, or lieutenant; so called because (as Mr. Spooner observes) chosen (*optatus*) by the tribune or centurion to act as deputy, lieutenant, or adjutant.

³ *Duo manipulares*. These words mean the above-named petty officers of the *maniple*; not privates, who would be *gregarii*.

⁴ *Primores militum*. Petty officers, the *tesserarius* and the *optio*, and others.

⁵ *Vulgus et ceteros*. Rank and file, or *gregarii*.

⁶ "*Ne per legiones dispersi in provincias transmitterentur, ubi militia multo adstrictior atque durior, minore etiam stipendio*" (Orelli).

⁷ As a matter of fact, there was only one legion in Rome at the time—Legio I. Classica, Nero's marines. "Galba's own"—VII. Galbiana—had, alas! been sent to Pannonia. The Legio I. Classica was absolutely hostile to Galba. Mere detachments from other legions were in Rome. Heræus observes, "*Rhetorische Verallgemeinerung für legionis I. classicæ et vexillariorum Germanicarum et Illyricarum legionum* (nach c. 31, 36, 41, 44), S. zu c. lxx. 20."

⁸ *Elusit*, "parried." Metaphor taken from boxing or fencing.

"*Callidus emissas eludere simius hastas*."—(Martial, xiv. 202.)

the soldiery, hostile to wisest counsel unless originating from himself, unamenable to the skill of others.

XXVII. As Galba was sacrificing before Apollo's temple on the 15th of January, the diviner Umbricius declared evil omens, rife plots, household traitors. Otho, close by, heard and construed, by contraries, auspicious forecasts. Immediately Onomastus, his freedman, announced the architect and contractors—concerted signal of assembling troops and ripe conspiracy. Otho, asked why he left, feigned purchase of a manor¹ needing inspection as old and possibly unstable. Leaning on his freedman, he passed through Tiberius' house² to the Velabrum,³ and thence to the golden milestone⁴ by Saturn's temple. There three and twenty of the body-guard greeted him emperor. Their paucity alarmed him, but they quickly chaired him, and with drawn swords bore him off. Almost as many joined them passing; some as privy to the conspiracy, many in astonishment;⁵ some applauding, others silent, calculating the chances.

The 15th of
January,
A.D. 69.
The golden
milestone.

XXVIII. Julius Martialis, tribune, was officer of the watch in camp. Scared by the catastrophe, or fearing widespread treason and death upon resistance, he was largely suspected of complicity. The other tribunes and centurions, too, preferred present safety to honour's risks, and were in such a frame of mind that few dared treason, more sympathized, all acquiesced.

Temper of
the camp.

XXIX. Galba, meanwhile, blindly absorbed in sacrifice, was

The metaphor became generally applicable; as—

"Namque

Mordacem cynicum sic eludebat, ut aiunt."

(Hor., *Epist.*, i. 17, 18.)

¹ *Prædium*. Heræus well translates, "*Land-haus*."

² Behind the Palatium on the Palatine, and west of the house of Augustus.

³ A district or street between the Tiber, the *Forum boarium*, and the Palatium opposite the modern Ponte Rotto (Heræus). Mr. Spooner well observes, "So far he had been going away from the camp of the Prætorians to avoid suspicion. Here he turns."

⁴ *Miliarium aureum*, at the upper end of the Forum, the starting-point of all the roads in Italy (Spooner).

⁵ *Miraculo*. This is well explained by the subsequent passage, v. 23, "*Cerialis miraculo magis quam metu*."

importuning¹ his lost empire's gods, when a whisper came that some senator was being borne into camp; then, that it was Otho. Simultaneously came divers city witnesses. Some exaggerated in their terror; others minimized

News of the
conspiracy.
Piso addresses
the palace
guard.

—flatterers to the last. Upon consultation it was resolved to test the palace guard—not, however, through Galba, whose prestige was reserved for supreme emergencies. They were paraded, and Piso addressed them from the palace steps in this wise: “Comrades! This is the sixth day² since I, with the future veiled from me, have for better for worse been adopted Cæsar—with what personal or public destiny depends on you; not that personally I fear the worst; for, schooled in adversity, I learn at this moment³ that prosperity is quite as hazardous. For the sake⁴ of father, senate, empire, I mourn if we must fall to-day, or, what is in good sooth as sad, wield the sword. A bloodless city and peaceful transfer mitigated the recent insurrection. My adoption seemed to preclude all war even after Galba's death.”

XXX. “I make no pretension to excellence or virtue;⁵ nor need I, when contrasting Otho. His vices, his sole boast, overturned the throne when he played but the part of Nero's boon companion. Are such address, strut, effeminate foppery, to win the throne? Some mistake his luxury for liberality—spendthrift, yet not generous. Even now he meditates lust, debauchery, and bacchanalian orgies—imperial prizes, lustful pleasure for self, brand of shame for all. For no man yet has ruled with honour from a throne won by infamy. The world's consent enthroned Galba; I am his and your adoption. If commonwealth, senate, people, be shadows, 'tis for you, comrades, to save the sceptre from the rabble's choice. The legions some-

¹ Ernesti well remarks, “*Scilicet dum aliam super aliam victimam cædi jubet si tandem litare posset.*”

² Piso was adopted on the 10th of January and murdered on the 15th of the same month. The Romans, in counting days, always reckoned inclusively.

³ *Cum maxime*, “at this moment,” has always the same meaning in Tacitus.

⁴ *Patris vicem*, “for the sake of my father,” or “on account of my father.” Compare “*Infamis Helenæ Castor offensus vice,*” in Horace, *Epod.*, xvii. 42, and Orelli's note on same.

⁵ *Modestia* here means *σωφροσύνη*, and is well translated by Heræus as “Wohllverhalten, moralität.”

times mutiny. The Prætorian 'scutcheon is still untarnished. Even Nero deserted you, not you Nero. Shall scarcely thirty runaway deserters, whom nobody would permit to choose a centurion or tribune, allot¹ the empire? Do you endure the precedent, and stand passively incriminated? This lawlessness will permeate the provinces, and we must bear treason's outcome, you the brunt of war. The price of crime—of murdering your prince, does not exceed honest pay; and your loyalty will receive from me a donative no less than treachery would from others."

XXXI. The body-guard² dispersed; the rest hearkened to Piso's words, and, as happens in times of excitement, unpremeditatedly rather than, as subsequently believed, of malice aforethought, displayed their standards. Celsus Marius was sent to the Illyrian corps quartered in Agrippa's portico.³ Serenus and Sabinus, ex-centurions,⁴ got orders to summon the German detachments from the Hall of Liberty. The Marine Legion was suspected of being hostile because Galba had massacred their comrades immediately on arrival. Moreover, Cetrius Severus, Subrius Dexter, Pompeius Longinus, tribunes, visited the Prætorian camp to see if the incipient mutiny might yield to better counsels. The soldiers threatened Subrius and Cetrius, seized and disarmed Longinus, who was loyal, not merely as an officer, but as Galba's friend, and was consequently more suspected by the mutineers. The Marine Legion instantly joined the Prætorians. The Illyrian corps drove Celsus back at

Efforts of
Galba's
friends.

¹ *Assignare*, "allot." *Assignare* is the technical term for allotting public lands, and was the function of heroes, emperors, generals—hence its satirical meaning here. Compare Horace, *Epist.*, ii. 1-5, *et seq.* :

"Romulus et Liber pater et cum Castore Pollux,
Post ingentia facta deorum in templa recepti,
Dum terras hominumque colunt genus, aspera bella
Componunt, agros *assignant*, oppida condunt,
Ploravere suis non respondere favorem
Speratum meritis."

² See note, cap. xxiv., *ante*.

³ Erected by Vipsanius Agrippa in the Campus Martius, and (as Mr. Spooner informs us) not far from the modern fountain of Trevi.

⁴ *Primipilares*. As a *consularis* was one who had been consul, lit. an ex-consul, so the *primipilaris* was one who had served as *primipilus* or centurion of the first rank, and became ex-centurion. These ex-centurions of the first rank were employed in many important offices, such as here, and often acquired wealth and high positions (see Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, new edit., vol. i. p. 800, tit. "Exercitus").

the spear's point. The German detachments long wavered, still invalided, and grateful because, when sick after the long home-voyage from Alexandria, whither Nero had sent them, Galba had sedulously cared them.

XXXII. The entire mob, half slaves, now filled the palace, yelling for Otho's death, the conspirators' destruction, ^{Vinius} as for a performance in circus or theatre. They ^{counsels} ^{delay.} evinced neither judgment nor sincerity, destined that same day to veer round in their demands with equal vehemence; traditional, reckless, noisy, hollow flatterers of any prince. Galba, meanwhile, halted between two opinions. Titus Vinius advised, "Remain within. Marshal the slaves. Strengthen approaches. Avoid the fury. Give time, to traitors,¹ to repent; to loyalists,¹ to unite. Treason thrives on haste; loyalty, on deliberation. In brief, offensive tactics will, if called for, be as practicable; a change to the defensive will be cut off from us by the enemy.

XXXIII. The rest urged despatch before the puny conspiracy could gain volume: "Otho too will blench—Otho, ^{Laco and} ^{Icelus urge} ^{despatch.} refugee and scarcely known to his associates, now learning his imperial rôle through our delay and inaction. Delay not till Otho, well prepared, seizes the Forum, enters the Capitol in Galba's sight, while our distinguished emperor and gallant friends lock themselves up, to stand a siege forsooth! Pretty auxiliaries the slaves, if their vast numbers lose discipline and, above all, their first burst of indignation cool down! Dishonour means danger! If we must fall, to the front! Let us shame Otho, and distinguish ourselves!" Vinius opposed this policy, and was menaced by Laco, egged on² by Icelus, whose persistent personal rancour led to public ruin.

¹ The *mali* and the *boni* take their political colour, as in Cicero, from the subjective standpoint of the writer or speaker. It is most interesting to the philosopher and historian to remember that the political ideas of Cicero and Tacitus are at one, and more than counterbalance the shallow gush of a Froude or a De Quincey. The development of historical research and criticism will continuously demonstrate the soundness of Professor Tyrrell's criticism on the most eventful epoch in the world's history—the death of the Roman Republic.

² The more modern style requires "egg on," not "egg;" but after I had written as above, I found in Dr. Murray's great *Historical Dictionary* a very interesting coincidence. Under title "Egg," vol. iii. p. 59, the dictionary cites Grenewey's Tacitus (date 1598), *Ann.*, I. xi. 21: "The like occasion egged him to the like cruelty against Sempronius Gracchus."

XXXIV. Galba, without further delay, resolved upon the more specious counsel,¹ but sent Piso forward to the camp as a youth of rank, rising popularity, and hostility to Vinius, real, or imaginary in the minds of angry rivals, where enmities find ready credence. Scarcely had Piso gone, when 'twas whispered Otho had been slain in camp; next, characteristic of great lies, some vouched as eye-witnesses amid a credulous, careless, and exultant mob. Many thought² the rumour a concoction circulated by Otho's partisans, who gilt their lies to lure Galba into the open.

XXXV. Then, indeed, not only the populace and ignorant mob became effusive, but many knights and senators rashly burst the palace doors, rushed in, displayed themselves to Galba, complaining of forestalled vengeance; and the most arrant cowards, soon actual runaways, proved the greatest braggarts and boasters. All was ignorant assertion, until, in want of all true information and swayed by liars, Galba assumed his cuirass and, too old and infirm to bear the crush, was raised upon his litter. Julius Atticus of the body-guard met him in the palace and, displaying his reeking sword, exclaimed that he had slain Otho. "Comrade! who ordered you?"³ said Galba, resolute disciplinarian, unmoved by threats, impervious to flattery.

XXXVI. Unanimity reigned in camp, and such enthusiasm that, dissatisfied with chairing⁴ Otho, they placed him between the standards on the platform, where Galba's golden statue had just rested, and surrounded him with

False rumour
of Otho's
death.

Galba's reply
to Julius
Atticus.

Enthusiasm of
the army
towards Otho.

¹ Suetonius, *Galba*, xix., gives an opposite version, to the effect that Galba determined to remain on the defensive; nor does he at all mention Piso's mission.

² After the event. There is no necessity to depart from the received text, *arbitrabantur*, and amend with Urieis to *arbitrantur*.

³ Plutarch, *Galba*, xxvi., tallies most accurately: Μετὰ μικρὸν ὥσθη Ἰούλιος Ἀττικὸς τῶν οὐκ ἀσήμεν ἐν τοῖς δορυφόροις στρατευόμενος γυμνῷ τῷ ξίφει προσφερόμενος καὶ βοᾶν ἀγγηκέναι τὸν Καίσαρος πολέμιον· ὥσάμενος δὲ διὰ τῶν προεστώτων ἔδειξε τῷ Γάλβᾳ τὸ ξίφος ἡμαγμένον. Ὁ δὲ βλέψας πρὸς αὐτόν, "Τίς σε," εἶπεν, "ἐκέλευσε;"

⁴ So I translate "*non contenti agmine et corporibus*," following Heræus, who translates: "Sie waren nicht zufrieden, ihn im Aufzug durch die Stadt auf ihren Schultern zu tragen." The language of Suetonius, *succolatus*, favours this interpretation. The new edition of *Orelli* by Meiser, on the other hand, connects *agmine et corporibus* by implication with the subsequent *circumdarent*. With the utmost respect, I prefer the interpretation of Heræus.

the colours. Neither tribunes nor centurions dared approach; the soldiery even put their officers under surveillance. Everything resounded with tumultuous acclamations, mutual exhortations; not like the popular chatter or idle flattery of the mob, ~~but~~, as they saw approaching comrades, they embraced, saluted,¹ fraternized, dictated the oath, commended emperor to soldiers, soldiers to emperor. Otho failed not to pay homage, kiss hands, and play slave to become master. After swearing in the entire Marine Legion, confident in strength, deeming a harangue should follow personal incentives, he spoke thus from the rampart of the camp:

XXXVII. "Comrades! I know not in what capacity I appear before you. I dare not say as subject, when acclaimed your prince, nor as prince, when another reigns. Otho's speech.

Your character likewise remains uncertain, until 'tis settled whether you have the Roman emperor or a traitor in camp.

Hark! my death, your destruction, called for in a breath!²

Clear proof that we must perish or survive together! Assurance of our doom perchance by gentle Galba, wanton butcher of such hosts of unoffending soldiery! A shudder creeps over me whenever I remember the lethal entry and, Galba's sole victory, the decimation, before Rome's eyes, of the suppliants he had pardoned. Auspicious entry! Glorious antecedents!—the butchery of Obultronius Sabinus and Cornelius Marcellus in Spain, Betuus Chilon in Gaul, Fonteius Capito in Germany, Clodius Macer in Africa, Cingonius on the road, Turpilius in Rome, Nymphidius in camp! What province, what camp has escaped bloody defilement, or what he terms 'wholesome purgation'? For he designates atrocities as 'correctives,' and misnames cruelty as

¹ *Complexi armis*, as in Vergil, *Æn.*, xii. 433:

"*Postquam habilis lateri clipeus loricaque tergo est,
Ascanium fuis circum complectitur armis.*"

I absolutely follow here the new editor (Meiser) of Orelli, and take *armis* from *arma* and not *armus*, and in that way construe the meaning to be a military salute. Heraeus takes the opposite view, and derives *armis* from *armus*, and construes the meaning to be a mere embrace.

² The roar of the Roman mob could be heard in the camp: "*Dissono clamore cædem Othonis et conjuratorum exitium poscentium*" (cap. xxxii., ante); just as the tumult in the camp could be heard in the city: "*Vocibus in urbem usque resonantibus e castris*" (cap. xxxix., post).

'austerity,' avarice as 'economy,' your chastisement and degradation as 'discipline'! Nero is but seven months¹ dead, and already Icelus has plundered as much as men like Polyclitus, Vatinius, Ægialus, in a lifetime.² Vinus could not have been more grasping or wanton even as emperor. Now he treats us at once as subjects to be ruled and aliens to be scorned. He alone swallows up that donative, for you a phantom and a daily taunt."

XXXVIII. "To cut off all hope even in his successor, Galba has summoned from exile his double in moroseness and avarice. Comrades! you saw how even Heaven's dread storm banned the unhallowed adoption. So, too, judge both Senate and Roman people. They crave your valour, virtue's mainstay, and without which the noblest cause will be powerless. Not to war or danger do I summon you. The whole army is with us. Not even the mufti³ brigade now defends Galba, but only checks him. When they see you and receive my watchword, they will outvie each other in my service. Where completion is the test of merit, delay is out of place." He then ordered the armoury to be opened. Arms were seized without discipline or distinction between prætorian or legionary accoutrements. They jumbled together auxiliary armour, and every man helped himself without guidance of centurion or tribune. The sorrow of the good proved to be villainy's chief incentive.

XXXIX. Piso, dismayed by the gathering tumult's roar echoing cityward, had just overtaken⁴ Galba approaching the Forum from the palace, and Marius Celsus had brought gloomy

The armoury
is opened.
Want of
discipline.

¹ June, A.D. 68.

² Meiser, in his new edition of *Orelli*, has amended the old *quod perierunt to quoad perierunt*, thus infusing pregnant sense and meaning.

³ *Cohors togata*. The Prætorian cohort, which furnished the emperor with a guard in the city, left their helmets and shields behind in camp, retaining only their swords and lances. They also wore the toga, leaving their military cloaks in camp. Hence Martial, vi. 76:

"Ille sacri lateris custos Martisque togati
Credita cui summi castra fuere ducis,
Hic situs est Fuscus."

So in the city of London, with the exception of certain privileged regiments, troops cannot pass through without permission.

⁴ The reader will remember that Piso had been sent on in advance to the camp (cap. xxxiv.). When, however, he reached the city boundaries, the tumultuous roar of the mutineers told him too plainly how futile and fatal his attempt would

news.¹ Then some urged return to the palace, others were for the Capitol, many for seizing the Rostra, more simply contradicted, and, as in forlorn counsels, it was too late to do what seemed best. They say that

Piso dismayed.
Divided
counsels.
Laco's plot.

Laco, without Galba's knowledge, plotted Vinius' murder, either to assuage the mutineers, or as Otho's confidant, or possibly through hatred. The time and place gave pause, as massacre, once begun, could hardly be controlled; besides, anxious tidings, slippery friends, disturbed his design; the partisans, who at first displayed such eagerness, devotion, and spirit, now all cooled down.

XL. Galba was tossed about² by the surging crowd—pitiful sight from the thronged courts and temples. Not a whisper from the populace, amazed and strained

Otho's cavalry
charge the
populace.

for every sound! There was neither uproar nor repose, but the silence of pregnant terror and indignation.³ Still Otho heard the mob were arming, and ordered an instant charge to anticipate them.

Then Roman soldiers, as if to depose Vologæsus or Pacorus from the ancestral throne of the Arsacidæ,⁴ not butcher their defenceless old emperor, scattering the mob, trampling the Senate, fiercely, furiously charged into the Forum. Nor sight of Capitol, nor holy temples overhead, nor past nor future sovereignty, stopped treason's guilt—marked for vengeance, no matter who the succeeding prince!

XLI. Seeing the approaching column, Atilius Vergilio, 'tis said, standard-bearer⁵ of Galba's escort, wrenched off and dashed down Galba's effigy⁶—signal for Otho's

Murder of
Galba.

be. He consequently returned and came up with Galba, whose progress from the palace to the Forum would be in the direction contrary to that which led towards the Prætorian camp.

¹ From the Illyrian corps quartered in Agrippa's portico (cap. xxxi., ante).

² In his litter. Orelli quotes aptly from Plutarch, *Galba*, xxvi., Τοῦ φορέου καθάπερ ἐν κλύδωνι δέυρο κἀκεῖ διαφερομένου καὶ πυκνὸν ἀπονεύοντος.

³ Burnouf cites a marvellously similar passage from Xenophon, *Agæsi*, ii. 12: Καὶ κραυγὴ μὲν οὐδεμία παρήν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ σιγὴ· φωνὴ δὲ τις ἦν ταιαύτη, ὅταν ὀργή τε καὶ μάχη παράσχοιτ' ἄν.

⁴ Compare Lucan, viii. 306:

"O utinam non tanta mihi fiducia sævis
Esset in Arsacidis!"

⁵ *Vexillarius*, here equivalent to *signifer*. Every prætorian cohort, such as this, had a standard, and in this connection the prætorian *vexillum*, unlike the ordinary legionary *vexillum*, or colours, meant a standard.

⁶ *Imaginem*. The imperial effigy, which, in the form of a medallion, surmounted

universal adoption by the soldiers. The people fled the Forum ; swords confronted those who hesitated. Near Curtius' basin the bearers fled, and Galba was hurled headlong from his litter. Enemies and friends dispute his dying words.¹ Some say he suppliantly asked his crime, craving a few days to pay the donative ; more contend he actually² presented his neck, bidding the assassins strike, if for Rome's good. Little they recked his words. The actual murderer is uncertain. Some say Terentius, reserve-veteran ; others, Læcanius ; most probably Camurius, a soldier of the Fifteenth Legion, transfixed³ his neck and drove the sword home. The rest mangled his limbs (armour protected his breast), and many savagely cruel wounds were inflicted on his mutilated trunk.

XLII. They next attacked Titus Vinius. Here too we know not whether deadly fear choked his utterance or whether he exclaimed that Otho had not ordered his death.⁴ Whether he feigned guilty privity through terror or confessed, his life and antecedents point to complicity in the crime he caused. He fell hamstrung at the first blow before blessed Julius' temple,⁵ and was then transfixed by Julius Carus, a legionary.

XLIII. Our age saw a hero that day—Sempronius Densus. Prætorian centurion, Piso's imperial attaché,⁶ dagger in hand he

the shaft of the standard, is most accurately described by Heræus as follows : "Das Relief-brustbild des Imperators, welches in Medaillonform am Schafte des Feldzeichens der Kohorte angebracht war." See picture of same at p. 674 of vol. ii., Smith's *Diet. Ant.*, new edit.

¹ Dio., 64. 6, and vol. ix., ed. Sturz, p. 110 : Τοῦτο μόνον εἶπε· τί γὰρ κάκον ἐποίησα ; Plutarch, *Galba*, xxvii. : Ὁ δὲ τὴν σφαγὴν προτείνας, Δράτε, εἶπεν, εἰ τοῦτο τῷ δήμῳ Ῥωμαίων κρινόν ἐστι : Suetonius, *Galba*, xx. : "Sunt qui tradant ad primum tumultum proclamasse eum : 'Quid agitis commilitones ? Ego vester sum et vos mei !' donativum etiam pollicitum. Plures autem prodiderunt obtulisse ultro jugulum et, ut hoc agerent et ferirent, quando ita videretur, hortatum."

² See note, cap. vii., ante.

³ *Hausisse*, i.e. *perforasse*.

⁴ Plutarch, *ad locum* : Ἀπεσφάττετο δὲ καὶ Οὐλνίος ὁμολογῶν κοινωνὸς γεγονέναι τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Γάλβαν συναμοσίας· ἔβόα γὰρ ἀποθνήσκειν παρὰ τὴν Ὀθωνος γνέμην.

⁵ In the middle of the Forum. Meiser (in the new *Orelli*) cites Ovid, *Met.*, xv. 840 :

"Hanc animam interea caso de corpore raptam
Fac jubar, ut semper Capitolia nostra forumque
Divus ab excelsa prospectet Julius æde."

⁶ *A Galba custodiæ Pisonis additus*. All editors are now agreed that these words mean "attached as a guard to Piso," not "attached to Piso's guard." Hence

charged the assassins, crying shame upon their treason, by voice and gesture attracting their blows, thus affording Piso a chance of escape, though wounded. Piso reached Vesta's temple,¹ where, received by the compassionate attendant and secreted in a cell, he got a short respite, not through the hallowed sanctuary, but through his obscure hiding-place, until with ravening² Otho's special³ death-warrant came Sulpicius Florus, British auxiliary, lately enfranchised by Galba, and Statius Murcus, one of the life-guard, who dragged Piso forth and butchered him at the temple gates.

A Roman hero.
Sempronius
Densus.
Murder of Piso.

XLIV. No death-tidings, 'tis said, so elated Otho; on no head did he so gloat; either because, then first unembarrassed, his mind was free to exult, or remembrance of Galba's majesty,⁴ Vinus' friendship, had haunted⁵ that ruthless soul, now claiming sanction, human and divine, to revel over Piso—fallen foe and rival. The impaled heads were borne between the standards next the legionary eagle; assassins, accessaries, genuine or spurious accomplices in this forsooth glorious and historical achievement, vying to show their gory hands. Vitellius subsequently discovered over one hundred and twenty petitions

Otho's joy.

additus custodiæ is properly rendered as "attaché," especially as Piso had been sent to the camp as Galba's ambassador.

¹ Vesta's temple situated in the southern angle of the Forum. Mr. Godley appositely refers to Horace's familiar stanza:

"Vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis
Litore Etrusco violepter undis
Ire dejectum monumenta regis
Templaque Vestæ."

² All editors now follow the emendation of Heinsius substituting *ardentis* for the manuscript *ardentes*. See Plutarch, *Galba*, xxvii.: τὸν δ' Ὀθωνα τῆς κεφαλῆς (Galbæ) κομισθελος ἀνακραγεῖν λέγουσιν. Οὐδέν ἐστι τοῦτο, ᾧ συστρατιῶται τὴν Πείσωνός μοι κεφαλὴν δέλξατε.

³ *Nominatim*. I translate "*missu Othonis nominatim in cædem*," as "Otho's special death-warrant," and find myself corroborated by Heræus, who translates *nominatim* as "*speziell*."

⁴ Note the intellectual flash between Tacitus and Shakespeare, bridging the gulf of fifteen centuries from the majesty of buried Rome to "the majesty of buried Denmark." Intellectuals of the first order reciprocate through all time.

⁵ *Imagine tristī confuderat*. The haunted mind of Otho is beautifully pictured by Dio., 64. 7: Θύοντί τε γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν θυσίαν πρῶτην τὰ ἱερὰ ποτηρὰ ὥφθη· ὥστ' αὐτὸν μεταγόνοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις εἰπεῖν· τί γὰρ με ἔδει μακροῖς αἰλοῖς αἰλεῖν; ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο δημῶδες ἐς παροιμίαν φέρον ἐπὶ τῶν ἔξω τι τοῦ προσφόρου σφίσι ποιούντων. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῆς νυκτὸς οὕτω δὴ τι ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις ἐταράχθη, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τῆς εὐνῆς ἐκπεσεῖν τοὺς τε προσκοιτούντας ἐκπλήξαι· ἐσπηδήσαντες οὖν εὗρον αὐτὸν χαμὰ κείμενον.

from individuals claiming rewards for their share in that day's infamy. He ordered the detection and execution of every one of them; not to honour Galba, but following imperial precedent, and as a safeguard and preventive.¹

XLV. Different senate forsooth! Different people! All rushed² to the camp, elbowing neighbours, scrambling after those in front, vilifying Galba, praising the discrimination of the soldiers, beslaving³ Otho's hand. The deeper their hypocrisy the more they practised it! Nor did Otho reject individual salutations, restraining the greedy, threatening soldiery by word and glance. They demanded execution on Marius Celsus, consul elect, Galba's loyal friend to the last, wroth with his blameless energy as if it were a crime. They clearly sought pretext for murder, rapine, the proscription of virtue. But Otho's authority failed yet to check, though not to order, crime. Accordingly feigning anger he ordered imprisonment, and, guaranteeing ulterior penalties, averted instant death.

XLVI. Thenceforth the sway of the soldiers predominated. The Praetorians chose their own prefects—Plotius Firmus, once a private, then captain of the watch, Otho's adherent during Galba's life, and Licinius Proculus, Otho's confidant and suspected abetter.

They appointed Flavius Sabinus city prefect, ratifying Nero's original selection, under whom Sabinus had similarly served, many courting his brother, Vespasian, through him. Abolition was demanded of the centurions' furlough-tax⁴ imposed on privates like annual tribute. One-fourth of every company might scatter on furlough or saunter in the very camp upon paying the centurions' tax, the measure of which or method of

¹ Compare "*scelus, cuius ultor est quisquis successit*" (cap. xl., ante). My translation is founded on Meiser's excellent note: "*Sensus autem loci est: sic puniendo principes et statim imperium sibi muniunt et in posterum ejusmodi scelera non inulta fore ostendunt.*"

² Compare Juvenal, x. 72:

"Sed quid
Turba Remi? Sequitur fortunam, ut semper, et odit
Damnatos."

³ *Exosculari*—stronger than *osculari*.

⁴ *Vacatio* here means the "furlough-tax," although its ordinary meaning is "furlough."

payment nobody heeded. They bought leave by robbery, rapine, or servile work.¹ Moreover, the wealthiest soldiers were driven by hard work and hard usage into buying their furlough. Financially exhausted, physically enervated, the once wealthy, gallant soldier rejoined his company a helpless pauper. This reiterated process of corrupting poverty and licence hurried them into mutiny, discord, ultimately civil war. But Otho, lest concessions to the rank and file might alienate the centurions, guaranteed an imperial annuity in commutation² of furlough-tax, an unquestionable improvement, which was subsequently incorporated by good emperors into the standing orders of the service.³ Laco, the prefect, ostensibly banished, was despatched by a reserve-veteran under Otho's warrant. Marcianus Icelus, only a freedman,⁴ was openly executed.⁵

XLVII. Wicked exultation closed that guilty day. The city prætor⁶ convokes the Senate. Other magistrates vie in flattery. The city fathers assemble and decree Wicked exultation.
Burial of Piso
and Vinus. Otho tribunitial authority, title of "Augustus," every imperial honour, all seeking to obliterate insults, which, however wanton, did not perceptibly rankle. His brief reign veils what his intentions were, whether of forgiveness or respite. Otho, borne to the Capitol and the palace through the blood-reeking Forum and piles of dead, conceded sepulture and cremation. His wife, Verania, and brother, Scribonianus, buried Piso; his daughter, Crispina, Titus Vinus; having ransomed the heads from the executioners,⁷ who had reserved them for sale.

¹ *Servilibus ministeriis*. "Per domos privatas, quæ ministeria aquandi, ligna cœdendi, bazulandi, cetera, ingenuis militibus indigna erant" (Meiser, ed. new Orelli).

² Mr. Spooner, in his instructive note *ad locum*, observes, "He commuted the payment for *vacationes* into an annual sum to be paid to the centurions, and undertook that this should come out of the emperor's privy purse."

³ *Perpetuitate disciplinæ*.

⁴ *Libertus* was a freedman in reference to his manumitter or master; *libertinus* was a freedman in reference to the state. The imperial freedmen, or *liberti*, passed like chattels from one emperor to another.

⁵ Most probably by crucifixion.

⁶ As both consuls, Galba and Vinus, were dead, the duty devolved upon the city prætor. Heraeus compares Cicero, *Ad. Fam.*, x. 12. 3: "Placuit nobis ut statim ad Cornutum Prætozem Urbanum litteras differremus, qui, quod consules aberant, consulare munus sustinebat more majorum."

⁷ Plutarch, *Galba*, xxviii.: Ταῖς δὲ κεφαλαῖς ὡς οὐδὲν εἶχον ἔτι χρῆσθαι, τὴν μὲν

XLVIII. Piso, more famous than fortunate, was completing his thirty-first year. Claudius and Nero had executed his brothers Magnus and Crassus. Long an exile, four days Cæsar, hurried adoption gave him no precedence over his brother¹ save death.

Piso's fame and misfortunes. Vinus' chequered career.

Titus Vinus had a chequered career of fifty-seven years. His father was of prætorian descent; his maternal grandfather,² a proscrip. He tarnished his military novitiate under Calvisius Sabinus, lieutenant-general, whose wife, pruriently inquisitive, entered camp at night in soldier's uniform, and, after the same wanton intrusion³ on outposts and camp routine, desecrated⁴ head-quarters by adultery. Vinus, implicated, was put in irons by Caligula. Released by revolution, advancing uninterruptedly and creditably to prætorship and generalship, he was then besmirched by an ignominious charge of pilfering a golden goblet from Claudius' table, who next day had him served separately off earthenware. However, Vinus was a rigidly incorruptible proconsul of Gallia Narbonensis. Then, drawn⁵ down into the abyss by Galba's friendship, he proved bold, crafty, ready, and, according to bent, characteristically vicious or praiseworthy. His wealth invalidated Vinus' will; poverty confirmed Piso's.

Οὐνίου τῇ θυγατρὶ δισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν ἀπέδοντο, τὴν δὲ Πείσανος ἡ γυνὴ ἔλαβεν Οὐερανία δεηθείσα.

¹ His elder brother, Scribonianus, survived, and, as we have seen, buried Piso.

² Lipsius refers to Dio., 47. 7, where we find that one Titus Vinus had been proscribed by the triumvirs and saved by the devotion and cleverness of his wife, Tanusia. Possibly, according to Lipsius, Vinus had assumed the name of this maternal ancestor either under a will or by adoption.

³ I follow Meiser (ed. new *Orelli*) in reading *temerasset*. Heræus adopts the *temptasset* of Puteolanus. But compare with Meiser, iv. 58, *infra*: "Hæc castra in-corrupta et intemerata servari."

⁴ The entrance of a woman into a Roman camp, and, above all, into head-quarters, where the eagle and standards (military gods) were kept, was regarded as a kind of sacrilege (compare *Annals*, i. 69; ii. 55; iii. 33).

⁵ *In abruptum tractus*. With the greatest deference I am unable to follow Meiser's (ed. new *Orelli*) interpretation of this difficult expression. In my opinion, Louandre has correctly translated, "*entraîné dans l'abîme*." So also Heræus, "*auf den Weg der (sittlichen) Verderbnis getrieben*." Meiser differs from this, observing, "Non est 'in perniciem raptus' sed ipsa potentia sua inductus ad pessima quæque facinora perpetranda." He therefore interprets the meaning as "raised to a giddy elevation."

None of these *savans* have observed that Vergil has furnished us with a complete solution in *Æn.*, iii. 420, *et seq.*:

"Dextrum Scylla latus, lævum implacata Charybdis
Obsidet, atque imo barathri ter gurgite vastos

XLIX. Galba's body, derelict, wantonly outraged under cover of darkness, was modestly buried in his private gardens by his steward and former slave Argius. The end of Galba. Delineation of his character. The head, impaled and mangled by sutlers and camp-servants, was finally found next 'day before Patrobius' tomb (~~Nero's~~ freedman executed by Galba), and restored to the cremated remains.¹ So ended Servius Galba during seventy-three years the prosperous contemporary of five emperors;² more fortunate as subject than as prince; of ancient noble lineage; affluent; neutral in disposition, negative and colourless in character; neither unambitious nor vain-glorious; not covetous of his neighbour's wealth; frugal of his own; greedy for that of the state;³ blamelessly tolerant towards friends and freedmen when deserving; culpably blind to their iniquities. But ancestral lustre in dreadful times disguised lethargy as wisdom. In his prime he won military renown in Germany. As pro-consul he governed Africa temperately, and, later on, Eastern Spain with equal justice; while subject, seemingly too great for that; the world had stamped him Cæsar, had he ne'er played Cæsar's part.⁴

L. Panic-stricken Rome, fearing simultaneously treason's direful traces, Otho's inveterate infamy, was appalled afresh by further news of Vitellius, News of Vitellius. Consternation. suppressed before Galba's murder, so as to limit the mutiny to the

*Sorbet in abruptum fluctus, rursusque sub auras
Erigit alternos, et sidera verberat unda."*

Vergil clearly meant by the expression, "to suck down into the abysm," or to "engulf." In Tacitus, the abysm is a moral one. Tacitus was most familiar with Vergil, whose imagery and diction he constantly adapts. Moreover, the translation in the text above is more in harmony with Vinus' chequered career.

¹ The mournful office was discharged by the illustrious Helvidius Priscus with Otho's permission. This in itself was no small tribute to Galba's memory (see Plutarch, *Galba*, xxviii.).

² Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero.

³ Note the gradation, *non appetens, parcus, avarus*. Observe, also, the imitation of Sallust, whom Tacitus admired but excelled in power and depth.

⁴ *Nisi imperasset*. This brilliant and beautiful antithesis of Tacitus, so often botched and mangled, depends for its solution on the double meaning of, and play upon, the word *imperare*, which here is taken in the signification of filling the rôle or playing the part of emperor or Cæsar. In its alternative signification of governing as emperor it would be equivalent to *capax imperii*, but the great Roman artist has, by his own inimitable play on words, left us a character-sketch for all time.

army of Upper Germany. Then not only senators, knights, leaders, and patriots,¹ who had some spark of public spirit, but even the common herd bewailed that the two most abandoned, supine, profligate of mankind were as if fated to ruin the empire. Passing from recent sights of ruthless peace,² men now recalled the civil wars of yore, and spoke of Rome so often self-captured, Italy devastated, provinces plundered, Pharsalia, Philippi, Perusia, Mutina³—disastrous memories: “The world reeled even under good men’s rivalry for empire; but the empire endured the victories of Cæsar and Augustus; the republic would have lasted under Pompeius and Brutus.⁴ Shall we now pray for Otho? For Vitellius? Impious prayers! Accursed vows for either choice,⁵ where conflict will but determine the victor’s greater infamy!”

Some presaged Vespasian, the armies of the East; yet, though Vespasian seemed preferable, they dreaded fresh wars and disasters. Vespasian’s antecedents, too, were doubtful, and, unlike all his predecessors, the throne reformed him.

LI. I will now explain⁶ the prime cause of Vitellius’ insurrection. The army,⁷ exultant in plunder and pride after the annihilation of Julius Vindex and all his forces, stimulated by war’s booty, and easy, riskless victories, preferred active service and prize-money to pay.

Unsettled state
of the armies of
Upper and
Lower
Germany.

¹ *Quis aliqua pars et cura rei publicæ.* “Qui partem aliquam publicorum negotiorum administrabant; cura autem sincerus patriæ amor” (Meiser, ed. new *Orelli*). Heræus well observes that these words are the counterpart of the “*inscitia rei publicæ ut alienæ*” of cap. i., *ante*.

² Compare the “*ipsa pace sævum*” of cap. ii.

³ These great battles are not here given in their chronological order: Pharsalia, between Cæsar and Pompeius, B.C. 48; Philippi, between Octavianus and Brutus and Cassius, B.C. 42; Perusia, between Octavianus and Lucius Antonius, B.C. 41; and Mutina, between Hirtius and Pansa and Mark Antony, B.C. 43.

⁴ Tacitus again harps on the vital point in all history, on which he was clearly in accord with Professor Tyrrell’s political positions.

⁵ Tacitus and Shakespeare again! What could be nearer the Latin text than Mercutio’s “A plague o’ both your houses”?

⁶ Tacitus, who was so familiar with Vergil, here uses the poet’s *expediam* in lieu of the prosaic *exponam*. Compare *Georgics*, iv. 285, 286:

“*Altius omnem*

Expediam prima repetens ab origine famam.”

See also Sallust, *Jugurtha*, v. 3. The same expression is used *infra*, iv. 12. 5.

⁷ That is, the united armies of Upper as well as of Lower Germany, which, concentrated by Verginius at Vesontio (Besançon), overwhelmed Vindex.

They had long endured service profitless and harsh both in regard to climate and rigorous discipline, which, however unrelenting in peace, relaxes in civil war amid wholesale corruption and unfettered treachery. They had men, arms, horses superabundantly, for use or show. However, before the war¹ men only knew their own companies and troops; the armies were severed by provincial boundaries. The legions concentrated against Vindex, after having gauged their own power and that of Gaul, now sought fresh pretexts for war and intestine strife; no longer addressing "allies," but "vanquished foes." The Rhine-bordering² Gauls readily supported, fiercely incited, them against "the Galbianists,"³ sobriquet with which they had dubbed the other Gauls in scorn of Vindex. Thus inflamed against the Sequani,⁴ Ædui,⁵ and the other states in proportion to their wealth, the Roman soldiery dreamt⁶ of stormed cities, devastated farms, ravaged households, not only greedy and insolent, as conquerors are wont, but stung by the jeering Gauls, who mockingly boasted of Galba's one-fourth reduction of their tribute and his state gifts. A crafty, plausible rumour of decimation of the legions, bravest centurions cashiered, fanned the flame. Alarm everywhere! Sinister reports from Rome! Lyons, hostile, devoted to Nero, was a hot-bed of rumour. But hatred, fear, self-confident strength, teemed with fiction and credulity in camp itself.

LII. Close on December of the preceding year Aulus Vitellius visited Lower Germany, and minutely inspected the legionary winter quarters. Many commissions were restored, dismissals⁷

¹ That is, before the war with Vindex.

² Lingones, Treveri, Remi.

³ Before the overthrow of Vindex his Gallic followers had called themselves *Vindiciani*, but after the destruction of Vindex and his suicide his Gallic adversaries (the Lingones, Treveri, Remi) jeeringly nicknamed his followers "*Galbiani*," in scorn of his memory; as Heræus observes, "*Da der Spottname Vindicianer seine Zugkraft verloren hatte und abgenutzt war.*"

⁴ The *Sequani*, Franche-Comté, Burgundy, and part of Alsace. Their capital was *Vesontio*, now Besançon.

⁵ The *Ædui*, between the Loire and the Saône. Their capital was *Augustodunum*, now Autun.

⁶ *Hauserunt animo*. Vergil again, *Æn.*, x. 648: "*Animo spem turbidus hausit inanem.*" Louandre well translates, "*Ils dévorait en espoir*;" Heræus, "*Sie lechzten im Herzen nach.*"

⁷ *Ignominia*, "dismissal." "*Ignominiosa missio eorum qui tamen post eam in Germania remanserant*" (Meiser, ed. *Orelli*).

Vitellius in
Lower
Germany.
December,
A.D. 68;
A.U.C. 821.

cancelled, punishments¹ mitigated, often corruptly, sometimes fairly, when he honestly reversed the military promotions or forfeitures prompted by Fonteius Capito's sordid avarice. [He was no mere consular legate in their estimation, and they attached unusual weight to all his acts. While austere judges deemed Vitellius undignified,² his admirers termed his indiscriminate lavishness of his own and prodigality of other men's possessions "genial good-nature," and in their enthusiastic obedience³ construed even vices into virtues. Both armies contained as many dissolute agitators as orderly law-abiders; but the lieutenants-general, Alienus Cæcina and Fabius Valens, were inordinately ambitious and of signal daring. Valens, wroth with Galba's ingratitude for his exposure of Verginius' hesitancy⁴ and his frustration of Capito's designs, incited Vitellius and pointed to the enthusiastic soldiery: "Your fame is world-wide; you have no obstacle to fear in Flaccus Hordeonius. Britain will support you; the German auxiliaries will follow; the provinces are unstable; the old man's empire is held at sufferance⁵ and transitory. Crowd canvas⁶ towards approaching fortune! Verginius, merely a

¹ These *notæ*, or brands of punishment, are detailed by Lipsius, *De Mil. Rom.*, v. 18: "Ut eis hordeum pro critico daretur, ut ære diruti fierent, ut extra vallum tenderent, ut toga lacinii abscissis amicti decinctaque tunica induti a mane in noctem usque ad principia adessent, ut discincti fossam foderent reliquo exercitu spectante."

² *Humilis*. Used by Tacitus in an invidious sense. For illustrations of the low habits of Vitellius, see Suetonius, *Vitellius*, vii.

³ *Aviditate ei parendi*. So I read with Meiser (ed. new Orelli) for the Vulgate *Imperandi*. Plutarch's description of obedience to Otho, xvii., strongly supports the emendation: 'ἅλλ' ἔοικε μηδενὶ τῶν πάποτε τυράννων ἢ βασιλέων δεινὸς οὕτως ἔρως ἐγγενέσθαι καὶ περιμανὲς τοῦ ἄρχειν, ὥς ἐκεῖνοι τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ὑπακούειν Ὀθωνος ἠπάσθησαν. Nipperdey suggests *Imperi dandi*; Heræus, *Imperii parendi*.

⁴ Verginius hesitated for a short time as to whether he should support Galba or seek the purple himself.

⁵ *Precarium*. Ulpian, *Digest*, 43, Tit. 26: "Precarium est, quod precibus petenti utendum conceditur tam diu, quam diu is, qui concessit, patitur."

⁶ *Panderet modo sinum et venienti Fortunæ occurreret*. Here I have the hardihood to differ from the great German critics, Meiser (ed. new Orelli), Heræus, and also from the recent English editor, Mr. Spooner. All these authorities translate *pandere sinum* as opening the arms to embrace approaching fortune. It is true they cite Ovid, *A. A.*, iii. 500, and Quintilian, xii. 10, 37, against themselves, but they strangely omit the *locus classicus*—the very language of Juvenal himself, the immortal contemporary of Tacitus. What does Juvenal say?

"Utere Velis,

Totos pande sinus."—(*Satires*, i. 149, 150.)

knight of obscure parentage, justly hesitated, unequal to bear, safe should he decline, the purple. Your father, thrice consul, censor, Cæsar's¹ colleague, has long since conferred imperial dignity, destroyed your private security."

—LIII. This roused the lethargic Vitellius to desire rather than hope. But in Upper Germany, Cæcina, in bloom of youth, gigantic, insatiable, eloquent,² majestic, had won Allienus Cæcina. the soldiers' hearts. As a reward for active partisanship when quæstor in Bætica,³ Galba gave him, a mere youth, a general's command, but subsequently ordered his prosecution for public embezzlement. Cæcina, in resentment, determined on revolution, to cloak his private wounds neath public ruin. Germs of sedition teemed in an army entirely engaged in the Vindex campaign, which had withheld its allegiance to Galba till after Nero's death, and had been anticipated even in that submission by the army of Lower Germany. The Treveri,⁴ Lingones,⁵ and others, dismayed by Galba's drastic edicts and territorial confiscations, bordered on the legionary winter quarters. Hence conspiracy and corruption by civilians of soldiers ready to support Verginius or any one.

LIV. The Lingones had presented the legions with clasped right hands,⁶ traditional symbols of friendship. The Lingones send envoys to the legions. Their envoys, affecting squalid mourning, bewailed through head-quarters and tents now personal wrongs, now neighbouring rewards, and, having gained the ear of the soldiers, inflamed them by sympathizing with their hazards and insults.

"Use your sails, crowd all canvas." This metaphor was therefore familiar to the great satirist and the great historian. See, however, Vergil, *Æn.*, viii. 712.

¹ Claudius.

² I adopt the emendation of Lipsius, reading *scito* for the *cito* of the Medicean MS. Meiser (ed. new *Orelli*) follows Lipsius, and supports him in a note so perfect that I venture to transcribe it: "Med. *cito* restituit Duebner. 'Ciceroni est,' inquit, 'eloquendi celeritas.' At., *De Or.*, 3. 57, § 216: '*Vox acuta, gravis; cita, tarda; magna, parva*; in quibus omnibus neque laus inest neque vituperatio; nec vero *citus sermo* ad studia hominum illicienda per se aptus nisi adjuncta eloquentia.'" Mr. Spooner well refers to Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, i. 93: "*scito* sermone et Attico."

³ *Bætica*, a senatorial province in Southern Spain administered by a quæstor. It comprised, according to Mr. Godley's accurate note, Andalusia and Grenada.

⁴ The people on the Moselle round Trèves, or Trier, their ancient capital—*Augusta Treverorum*.

⁵ The people about Langres and Dijon.

⁶ *Dextras*, clasped right hands, frequently made of silver, as represented on the coins of Julius Cæsar (Akerman, i. p. 106). Meiser (ed. new *Orelli*) refers to a similar custom among the Greeks, quoting Xenophon, *Ages*, 3. 4: *δεξιὰν πέμποντι*: *Anabasis*, ii. 4. 1: *δεξιὰς ἐνιοι παρὰ βασιλέως ἔφερον*.

Mutiny was rife when Hordeonius Flaccus ordered the envoys to quit camp, and, for greater secrecy, by night. Thence fearful alarm and general assertion of murder and perchance, unless frustrated,¹ of butchery unawares (in darkness and ignorance) of the bravest of the aggrieved soldiery. The legions tacitly conspire; the auxiliaries, who at one time were suspected of premeditated general attack with horse and foot upon the legions, are drawn in and soon eagerly espouse the cause. The bad combine more readily for war than peace.

LV. Still the formal New Year's fealty² to Galba was exacted from the legions of Lower Germany amid
 Various degrees of mutiny. much hesitancy, leading centurions occasionally responding, the ranks silently awaiting, each man his neighbour's, revolutionary initiative, innately ready to follow, loth to begin. The legions themselves varied in feeling. The First³ and Fifth⁴ mutinied even to stone-throwing at Galba's images. The Fifteenth⁵ and Sixteenth⁶ merely snarled, threatened, watching chances for outbreak. But in the Upper Army the Fourth and Twenty-second, stationed in the same winter quarters,⁷ destroyed Galba's images on New Year's Day itself; the Fourth, unhesitatingly; the Twenty-second, reluctantly co-operating. To avoid treason's stigma, they invoked obsolete names—"Senate and Roman people." Not an officer supported Galba; some, in the din, openly mutinied; still none harangued or ranted,⁸ for no leader could give credit yet.⁹

¹ I follow the Vulgate with Meiser, "*nisi ipsi consulerent*." Halm, followed by Heraeus, reads "*ni sibi ipsi consulerent*." I see no reason to depart from the MS. Ernesti rightly observes, "*Consulere* interdum absolute dicitur sine dativo pro *prospicere mederi malis*."

² The oath of allegiance was renewed every year on New Year's Day ever since the time of Tiberius.

³ I willingly here avail myself of Mr. Spooner's careful references. The First Legion was quartered at Bonn (iv. 25). ⁴ Quartered at Vetera (iv. 35).

⁵ At Vetera (iv. 35).

⁶ At Neuss (*Novesium*) (iv. 26).

⁷ At Mayence or Mainz (*Mogontiacum*) (iv. 24, 37, 59).

⁸ *Non tamen quisquam in modum contionis aut suggestu locutus*. Here I absolutely follow Döderlein and Meiser (ed. new Orelli) in adhering to the manuscript reading; nor can I, with all respect, adopt Heraeus' emendation, *pro suggestu*. Tacitus constantly omits prepositions for brevity and effect. Döderlein quotes iii. 29; v. 23; iii. 15. The words *in modum contionis* signify a set speech or harangue, whereas *suggestu* indicates the platform ranter, a character scarcely unfamiliar in our own times.

⁹ *Neque enim erat adhuc cui imputaretur*, a mercantile metaphor. *Imputare*

LVI. Hordeonius Flaccus, consular legate, witnessed their treason, but dared not bridle furious mutineers, check waverers, encourage loyalists—trembling laggard too cowardly to be traitor. Four centurions of the Twenty-second Legion, Nonius Receptus, Donatius Valens, Romilius Marcellus, Calpurnius Repentinus, protecting Galba's images, were whirled away into ifons. Honour, allegiance, vanished; and, characteristic of sedition, all soon joined the stronger side. On New Year's night the Fourth Legion's standard-bearer, reaching Cologne,¹ apprised Vitellius, carousing,² that the Fourth and Twenty-second Legions, destroying Galba's images, had sworn allegiance to the Senate and Roman people. Deeming such oath nugatory, Vitellius resolved, as imperial candidate, to clutch fluttering fortune. He communicated to legions and legates³ the Upper Army's revolt from Galba: "Fight the seceders forthwith; or, if for peace and quiet, elect, 'tis safer, an emperor at hand, no stranger."

Vitellius catches at the chance.

LVII. The First Legion's winter quarters⁴ were nearest, and Fabius Valens, the most alert of the commanders. Next day he entered Cologne with legionary and auxiliary cavalry, and with them greeted Vitellius emperor. The legions of Lower Germany enthusiastically followed; and the Upper Army, discarding the mask and hollow names of "Senate and Roman People,"⁵ joined Vitellius on January 3. 'Twas easy to discern their sham two days' patriotism. The people of Cologne, Trèves, and Langres rivalled the military enthusiasm,

January 2, A.D. 69. Vitellius greeted emperor by Fabius Valens. Enthusiasm of the armies of Upper and Lower Germany, and the people of Cologne, Trèves, and Langres.

primarily means to get on the credit side of another man's books, and to have his name on the debtor side of one's own.

¹ *Colonia Agrippinensis* in Lower Germany. The new colony (*colonia*) was founded at Agrippina's suggestion in A.D. 50. The old name was *Ara Ubiorum*. 'As the Fourth and Twenty-second Legions were in winter quarters at Mayence or Mainz (*Mogontiacum*) in Upper Germany, the standard-bearer of the Fourth Legion must have ridden from Mayence to Cologne in less than a day—a feat difficult, but by no means impossible—116 *English miles*.

² Tacitus touches off Vitellius in his salient vice of gluttony just as Shakespeare so often pictures Hamlet's murderous uncle at the wine-cup.

³ Of Lower Germany.

⁴ The First were quartered at Bonn, in Lower Germany, fifty-six miles from Cologne (see *infra*, iv. 25).

⁵ *Senatus populi que Romani oblitterata jam nomina sacramento advocabant* (*ante*, cap. lv.).

each man tendering aid, horses, arms, money—according as his strength, wealth, or brains enabled him. Nor did this characterize merely leading civilians and officers, affluent and sanguine of victory; rank and file volunteered savings,¹ belts, decorations,² silver-mounted trappings, in lieu of money, prompted by natural impulse or sordid hopes.

LVIII. Eulogizing the soldiers' enthusiasm, Vitellius distributed the imperial household offices³—the usual perquisite of freedmen—among Roman knights; paid the centurions out of his privy purse their commuted furlough-tax;⁴ frequently stimulated the soldiers' appetite for blood; rarely balked it by sham-imprisonments. Pompeius Propinquus, Belgic procurator, fell at once; stratagem saved Julius Bardo, admiral of the Rhine flotilla.⁵ The soldiers were wild with rage against him as Capito's prosecutor and subsequent betrayer. They cherished Capito's memory, and their fury left no alternative to public execution save pardon by craft. Accordingly imprisoned until victory had calmed⁶ military

Vitellius reforms the imperial household. He saves Julius Bardo from the soldiers by a ruse.

¹ *Viatica sua*, "their savings." Compare *Annals*, i. 37; Horace, *Epist.*, ii. 2, 26. Heræus, accurately, "*Barschaft, Ersparnis*."

² The lines in Juvenal, xvi. 58, *et seq.*—

"Ipsius certe ducis hoc referre videtur,
Ut qui fortis erit sit felicissimus idem,
Ut læti phalaris omnes et torquibus omnes,"

clearly show that the *phalaræ* and *torques* were military decorations indicative of merit or distinction. Vergil's description of the *torques* is familiar, *Æn.*, v. 558, 559—

"It pectore summo
Flexilis obtorti per collum circulus auri."

³ Mr. Godley admirably points out that, as the earlier emperors were in state theory merely citizens, no free-born Roman could, on that theory, occupy a place in their household; it would have been the case of one equal acting as the servant of another. Hence these duties were in the first century discharged by imperial freedmen, such as Narcissus, Pallas, Callistus, Polybius, and Icelus. The important offices of finance secretary, correspondence secretary, and secretary of petitions were thus filled. Although Vitellius initiated a reformation by giving these offices to Roman knights, still the practice was not finally settled until Hadrian's time. However, we find Vitellius (ii. 57, *infra*) refusing to knight his freedman Asiaticus, although requested by the army to do so (see the learned note of Heræus, *ad locum*).

⁴ See my note to cap. xlvii, *ante*, explaining how the furlough-tax was commuted into an imperial annuity.

⁵ Permanently established by Drusus, father of Germanicus.

⁶ "*Demum stratis jam militum odiis*." I accept Orelli's brilliant emendation of *stratis* for the MS. *statis*. Orelli appositely cites Statius, *Silv.*, ii. 5. 1, on Domitian's pet lion:

"Quid tibi *constrata* mansuescere profuit ira?"

wrath, he was then discharged. Meanwhile Crispinus, centurion, is made scapegoat. Stained with Capito's blood, he was a fore-doomed and cheap victim.

LIX. Julius Civilis,¹ Batavian chieftain, next escaped a doom that might tend to alienate a high-spirited race. More-over, eight Batavian cohorts were round Langres, ^{The crime of loyalty.} formerly attached to the Fourteenth Legion,² then severed in troublous times, strong to turn the scale either way. Vitellius ordered Nonius, Donatius, Romilius, Calpurnius, the centurions just mentioned,³ to death as guilty of loyalty,⁴ a heinous crime in the eyes of rebels. Further accessions were Valerius Asiaticus, Belgic legate, afterwards Vitellius' son-in-law, and Junius Blæsus,⁵ governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, with the Italian Legion⁶ and Taurine⁷ cavalry encamped at Lyons. The Rætian army instantly adhered, nor did Britain waver.

LX. Trebellius Maximus,⁸ despised and loathed by the army for sordid avarice, was governor of Britain. This unpopularity was fanned by Roscius Cælius,⁹ lieutenant-general of the Twentieth Legion, long at ^{Trebellius Maximus, governor of Britain, driven from the island, joins Vitellius.} variance with him, and, now virulent, availing himself of the civil war. Trebellius taxed Cælius with mutinous in-

Also Æschylus, *Prom. Vinc.*, 193 :

Τὴν ἀτίρανον στορέσας δργήν.

Thucydides, vi. 18 :

“Ἵνα Πελοποννησίων τε στορέσωμεν τὸ φρόνημα.

Hærsus follows Freinsheim's emendation, *satiatîs* ; Döderlein reads *sedatis* ; Meiser, *fractis*.

¹ The hero of Batavia, who defied successfully the majesty and legions of Rome, as so fully and elaborately detailed hereafter. In the Medicean MS., at iv. 13, he is called *Claudius Civilis*. The words there are “*Claudius Civilis et Julius Paulus*.” This was evidently a natural slip of the copyist for *Julius Civilis et Claudius Paulus*, and Hærsus accordingly reads *Julius Civilis*, as does Mr. Spooner. Halm and Godley read *Julius Paulus et Julius Civilis*. Plutarch also writes *Julius Civilis*.

² Gemina Martia Victrix.

³ Cap. lvi., ante.

⁴ *Damnatos fides crimine*. This biting sarcasm runs through all time.

⁵ Most probably the son of one or other of the two Blæsi whose suicide is narrated in *Annals*, vi. 40.

⁶ Prima Italica ; not to be confounded with the Legio Prima Germanica or the Marine Legion of Nero, Prima Classica Adjutrix, mentioned in cap. vi., ante.

⁷ Perhaps named after its founder, Statilîus Taurus, possibly the proconsul of Africa mentioned in *Annals*, xii. 59.

⁸ See a further description of him in *Agricola*, xvi.

⁹ Noticed also in *Agricola*, vii.

subordination; Cælius, Trebellius as robber of plundered legions. Meanwhile, amid these disgraceful squabbles of generals, discipline deteriorated and insubordination culminated when even auxiliaries insulted Trebellius, who, deserted by infantry and cavalry¹ now supporting Cælius, fled to Vitellius. Britain remained undisturbed by his absence. The lieutenants-general governed co-ordinately, but Cælius was the ruling and superior spirit.

LXI. Immensely reinforced and strengthened by the British contingent, Vitellius planned two advances under two generals. Fabius Valens was to win over or to ravage Gaul, if refractory, and invade Italy by the Cottian Alps;² Cæcina, to take the nearer route down the Penine range.³ Valens commanded Lower Army detachments,⁴ the Fifth Legion's strength,⁵ horse and foot auxiliaries, altogether forty thousand men; Cæcina, thirty thousand of the Upper Army—the Twenty-first Legion⁶ as mainstay. Both received contingents of German auxiliaries, from which Vitellius too recruited, determined to bring up an overwhelming reserve.

LXII. Strange contrast between army and emperor! The soldiers demand despatch, arms, while Gaul wavers, while Spain hangs back: "We heed not winter, nor cowardly, lazy peace. Invade Italy! Seize Rome!"

Contrast between the army and Vitellius. An omen of victory.

¹ *Cohortibus aliisque.* The stereotyped expression for the auxiliary infantry and cavalry.

² Between Mont Cenis and Monte Viso, the passage traversing Mont Genève. These Alps separate Dauphiné from Piedmont. The road through Mont Genève, now about to be traversed by Fabius Valens, had been originally constructed by Pompey, and renewed and improved by Augustus.

³ Over the Great St. Bernard down to Aosta. Mr. Spooner observes that this road had been constructed by Augustus. Livy, xxi. 38, 39, is highly instructive on the origin of the name, Penine Pass: "Neque hercule montibus his—ab transitu Pœnorum ullo Seduni Veragni, incolæ jugi ejus, nomen norint inditum, sed ab eo, quem in summo sacratum vertice Pœninum montani appellant." It will be remembered that the mighty *Hannibal* crossed the *Little St. Bernard* in his immortal march into Italy.

⁴ *Electi*, "detachments" (see ii. 57, 5, *infra*).

⁵ *Cum aquila Quintæ Legionis*, with the bulk (or strength) of the Fifth Legion. He had only detachments (*electos*) from the other three legions constituting the Lower Army, but he had the bulk of the Fifth Legion (*Alaudæ*) because the *aquila* represented the head-quarters, and hence the bulk or strength.

⁶ *Rapax*, having its head-quarters at Vindonissa (*Windisch*) in Switzerland.

In civil war speed is safest, where deeds, not words, are wanted." Vitellius, torpid, anticipated the purple in lazy luxury and prodigal feasting—drunk and gorged at noon;¹ while the soldiers' vigorous enthusiasm actually² discharged commander's functions just as if Vitellius were present, encouraging bravery, dismaying cowardice. Marshalled in eager expectation,³ they demand the signal "Start." Vitellius received forthwith the suffix "Germanicus;" but even after victory he declined the title "Cæsar."⁴ A lucky augury sped Fabius Valens and his martial host on departure's very day. An eagle gently sailed⁵ before the army like a guide; and for long so joyous were the soldiers' acclamations, so calm the unruffled bird, that great and glorious victory was unhesitatingly prognosticated.

LXIII. So⁶ they confidently approached their allies at Trèves; but at Metz⁷ (town of the Mediomatrici),
 although cordially received, panic-stricken they
 seized arms to slay guileless citizens, not for rapine
 or through lust of pillage, but actuated by rabid panic, unaccountable and all the more incurable, until, mollified by their

Massacre at
Metz.
Terror-stricken
Gaul.

¹ Suetonius, *Vitellius*, xiii.: "Ut autem homo non profundæ modo, sed intempestivæ quoque ac sordidæ gulæ, ne in sacrificio quidem unquam aut itinere ullo temperavit, quin inter altaria ibidem statim viscus et farra pæne rapta a foco manderet, circaque viarum popinas fumantia obsonia, vel pridiana atque semesa."

² *Ultro* (see my note on *ultro*, cap. vii., ante).

³ *Intenti*. Vergil again, "Conticuere omnes *intentique* ora tenebant;" and again, still more in point, *Æn.*, v. 137, "*Intenti* expectant signum."

⁴ Orelli points out that on his coins he is only described as "*Augustus*" (Akerman, i. 176—180). This is so undoubtedly as to coins stamped at Rome, but on an Egyptian coin he is described as *Cæsar* (Pellerin in *Mélange*, i. Tab. 13).

⁵ Compare Gray:

"Nor the pride, nor ample pinion,
 That the Theban eagle bear,
 Sailing with supreme dominion,
 Through the azure deep of air."

⁶ *Quidem* explains the confidence inspired by the lucky omen of the eagle, and connects the thought of the preceding passage. Compare Cicero (*Correspondence*, Letter xxv., Att. i. 19, Tyrrell's edition): "Scribemus etiam de nobis ea, quæ scire te non nolle arbitramur. Atque in re publica nunc *quidem* maxime Gallici versantur metus."

⁷ Heræus admirably points out the chronological nomenclature of Metz. Its first name was *Divodurum*, later *Mediomatrici*, in the Middle Ages *Mettis*, and now *Metz*. The transition from *Mediomatrici* into *Mettis* and *Metz* is apparent. Mr. Spooner well observes that Fabius Valens advanced along the line of the Moselle to Trèves, and followed the stream on to Metz.

general's entreaties, they refrained¹ from annihilating the inhabitants; as it was, four thousand perished. So terror-stricken was Gaul that, upon the army's approach, whole states with their magistrates met it suppliantly—women, children, prostrate in their path; all other palliatives² of hostile wrath invoked peace, though war there was none.³

LXIV. At Toul⁴ Fabius Valens learnt Galba's murder and Otho's accession. The soldiers, intent on war, were neither elated nor depressed. Gaul no longer wavered. Hating Otho and Vitellius equally, it also feared Vitellius. Langres, loyal to Vitellius, was next reached and hospitality reciprocated by emulative decorum; but amenities were cut short by the insolent auxiliary cohorts,⁵ which, detached, as before described, from the Fourteenth Legion, Fabius Valens had enrolled. These Batavians passed from brawls to blows⁶ with the legions, almost culminating, amid military partisanship, in battle, until Valens by a few examples recalled well-nigh forgotten discipline. Hostile pretexts were vainly sought against the Ædui.⁷ Requisitioned for money and arms, they volunteered provisions likewise. Fear prompted them; enthusiasm, the Lyonese. However, the Italian Legion⁸ and Taurine Horse⁹ were withdrawn from, and the Eighteenth Cohort¹⁰ left in, ordinary winter quarters at Lyons. Manlius Valens, lieutenant-

Tumult at
Langres.

¹ *Ab excidio civitatis temperavere.* Compare Vergil, *Æn.*, ii. 6, *et seq.*:

"Quis talia fando

Myrmidonum Dolopumve aut duri miles Ulixi

Temperet a lacrimis?"

² Such as the *velamenta et infulæ* mentioned in cap. lxvi., *infra*.

³ *Non quidem in bello sed pro pace tendebantur.* In these antithetical phrases Tacitus is inimitable and unapproachable.

⁴ *In civitate Leuorum.* The people round the ancient *Tullum*, now *Toul*, higher up on the Moselle than Metz, and close to Nancy on Meurthe.

⁵ The Batavian cohorts mentioned in cap. lvii., *ante*.

⁶ *Jurgia primum, mox rixæ.* *Jurgium* is a "war of words," a brawl or squabble; *rixæ*, a fracas or scuffle. Compare Juvenal, iii. 288, *et seq.*:

"Miserae cognosce promia rixæ,

Si rixæ est, ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum."

⁷ See cap. li., *ante*.

⁸ See cap. lix., *ante*.

⁹ See cap. lix., *ante*.

¹⁰ These were Urban cohorts numbered separately and distinctly from the legions. They were apparently thirty-two in number. From inscriptions it would seem that XVIII. is an error for XIII., viz. Cohors XIII. Urbana, stationed at Lyons.

general of the Italian Legion, although a steadfast partisan, was ignored by Vitellius. Fabius had secretly blackened him un-
 awares, luring him with public eulogies.

LXV. The late war¹ had rekindled the inveterate feud between Lyons and Vienne.² Their incessant deadly
 vendetta meant more than a struggle for Nero or ^{Lyons and Vienne.}
 Galba. Galba, too, when Lyons angered him,³ confiscated its revenues, while heaping honours on Vienne. Hence envy 'twixt those rivals, who, though severed by the waters of the Rhone, were locked in bonds of hate. So the Lyonese spurred every soldier to destroy Vienne, denouncing the besieger of Rome's colony, abetter of Vindex, Galba's recruiter. After homilies of hate, they pointed to vast plunder, and passed from secret incitements to public adjurations. "Forward, avengers! Obliterate the seat of Gallic insurrection! Nothing there but foreigners and foes! We are Rome's colony, your soldiers, allies in weal and woe. Leave us not, should fortune frown, to yonder fury!"

LXVI. In this wise they so roused them that not even generals and leaders thought their fury could be
 assuaged, until the Viennese, aware of their danger, <sup>Shameless
venality of
Fabius Valens.</sup>

¹ *Proximum bellum*, the war with Vindex.

² The words *et Viennenses* are not in the Medicean MS. They are, however, in the margin, and have unanimously been incorporated into the text. Vienne, formerly *Vienna*, situated on the opposite side of the Rhone from Lyons, once the capital of the Allobroges, became the seat of the governor of *Gallia Narbonensis*. Augustus had merely conferred upon it the *Jus Latium*, probably in the year 27 A.D., at which period it is described on coins as *Colonia Julia*. Later, either in the time of Tiberius or Caligula, it was raised to the rank of Roman colony and endowed with all the privileges of Roman citizenship. Hence Claudius speaks of it as "Ornatissima ecce colonia valentissimaque *Viennensium* quam longo jam tempore senatores huic curiæ confert." Such being its history, we must discount the rhetorical rancour of the Lyonese when they speak of it as foreign; for, although not of the antiquity of Lyons, it was nevertheless a Roman colony, as can be seen from the words of Tacitus in the next chapter: "*vetustas dignitasque coloniæ valuit*." Vienne was the traditional place of banishment of Pontius Pilate.

³ *Occasione iræ* means "on the occasion of being angry" or "when angered," and does not mean "making anger a pretext." This is clear from a well-known passage in Juvenal (Tacitus' great contemporary) not cited by the critics. In *Satire*, xiii. 183, Juvenal says—

"Quantulacumque adeo est occasio, sufficit iræ."

That is, "however trifling the occasion, it is a sufficient pretext for their anger." The occasion of Galba's anger was the loyal devotion of Lyons to Nero.

bearing sacred boughs and fillets,¹ and, as the army entered, embracing swords, knees, feet,² moved the soldiers' hearts. Moreover, Valens gave each soldier three hundred sesterces.³ Then the colony's ancient dignity prevailed, and Fabius, advocating safety and protection to Vienne, was well received. Publicly disarmed, however, they supplied the soldiers indiscriminately from private resources. But 'twas well known Valens was heavily bribed. Long pauper,⁴ suddenly rich, he ill disguised his change of fortune; ravenous in famine-whetted passions; beggar in youth, prodigal in age. The army then slowly traversed the territories of the Allobroges⁵ and Vocontii,⁶ Valens trafficking⁷ even in marching-distances and encampments with shameless venality towards landlords and magistrates; so ruthless, that bribes alone saved Luc⁸ (a town of the Vocontii) from the torch. When money failed, lust appeased. So on to the Alps.⁹

LXVII. Cæcina drew¹⁰ more plunder and blood. The Helvetii,¹¹ a Gallic race, once renowned warriors,¹² since then living on the fame of their traditions, unapprised of Galba's murder and rejecting Vitellius' authority, had irritated Cæcina's stormy spirit. The Twenty-first Legion's rapacity¹³ led to war. They had rap-

Cæcina's
ruthlessness.
The fate of
Baden.

¹ *Velamenta et infulas*. The "*placamenta hostilis iræ*" of cap. lxiii., *ante*.

² *Vestigia*. Mr. Godley well compares the Greek *ποδῶν βάσεις*.

³ About £2 7s.

⁴ *Sordidus*. "In ärmlichen Verhältnissen" (Heræus).

⁵ North Dauphiné and Savoy.

⁶ South Dauphiné and Provence.

⁷ *Venditante*. That is, Valens took bribes for marching through without a halt, and for avoiding as encampments the localities that had bribed him off.

⁸ *Lucus Augusti*. Now *Luc*, in Dauphiné.

⁹ That is, the Cottian Alps by way of Mont Genève.

¹⁰ *Haustum*. A poetic word taken by Tacitus from his favourite Vergil.

¹¹ *Helvetii*. West Switzerland between the Jura, Lake of Geneva, Rhone, and Upper Rhine (Heræus and Godley).

¹² *Armis virisque* naturally suggests the *arma virumque* of Tacitus' favourite Vergil. They were renowned warriors before their conquest by Julius Cæsar in 58 A.D.

¹³ All the critics here miss the point. The title of the Twenty-first Legion was *Rapax*. Tacitus puns on that by saying "*rapuerat pecuniam*." My translation seeks to maintain the humour of the original. In the *Annals*, i. 23, everybody is familiar with the jocular sobriquet given by the soldiers to the unpopular centurion Lucilius, whom they termed "*cedo alteram*" when, after breaking his vine-stick on the back of a refractory soldier, he called for a fresh stick. See my note on *Rapax*, Book II. cap. xliii. note, *post*.

ciously¹ seized the pay of a fortress which the Helvetii used to maintain as volunteers. The indignant Helvetii intercepted the German army's letter to the Pannonian legions, and detained the centurion and escort in custody. Cæcina, eager for war, was quick to chastise every recent offence before possible repentance. An instant incursion devastated their territories and wrecked a spot that long peace and a fashionable, pleasant spa had raised into a regular township.² The Rætian auxiliaries were summoned to catch the rear of the Helvetii while the latter were confronting the legions.

LXVIII. The Helvetii, 'braggarts before the fray, cowards in action, proved, though led by Claudius Severus from the start, untrained, undrilled, undisciplined. Fighting veterans meant destruction; crumbling walls could stand no siege. Here was Cæcina's potent array; there, the Rætian auxiliary horse and foot, and Rætian youth trained and disciplined; everywhere death and destruction! Encompassed, forlorn, weaponless, in great part wounded or stragglers, the Helvetii fled for shelter to the Bözberg.³ Instantly dislodged by a Thracian cohort, they were pursued and massacred by Germans and Rætians in the forests and very hiding-places. Many thousands perished; as many were sold into slavery. Annihilating opposition, the Roman array was marching towards Avenches,⁴ the chief town, when capitulation was tendered and accepted. Cæcina executed Julius Alpinus⁵ as a rebel leader. The rest he left to the mercy—the tender mercy—of Vitellius.

Rout of the
Helvetii.
Surrender of
their capital,
Avenches.
Execution of
Julius Alpinus.

¹ See preceding note.

² Baden. Formerly *Vicus Aquensis*, in Canton Aargau, and north-west of Zurich.

³ *In montem Vocetium*. The Bözberg in the Eastern Jura.

⁴ *Aventium*. Avenches, or Wilflisburg, near Freiburg. As compensation for loss sustained at the hands of Vitellius, Vespasian raised it to the dignity of a Roman colony. Hence its title, "*Colonia pia Flavia constans emerita Helvetiorum*" (*Inscr. m. L. N.* 363).

⁵ The name of Julius Alpinus is perpetuated by the *forged* inscription (n. 400) on his daughter Julia Alpinula. The forgery imposed on Lord Byron, *Child Harold*, canto iii. 66:

"And there—oh! sweet and sacred be the name!
Julia—the daughter, the devoted—gave
Her youth to Heaven; her heart, beneath a claim
Nearest to Heaven's, broke o'er her father's grave.

LXIX. Hard it is to say which the Helvetian envoys found more implacable, emperor or soldiers! The latter demand annihilation of Avenches, shaking swords and fists in the envoys' faces. Even Vitellius spoke menace, until Claudius Cossus, envoy and famous orator, but then cloaking his art under a suitable and highly effective nervousness, subdued¹ the spirit of the soldiers, now, like all crowds, as impressionable towards mercy as formerly abandoned to cruelty. The envoys² in tears, pressing for better terms, ensured pardon and safety for Avenches.

LXX. Cæcina, awaiting Vitellius' decision for a few days in Switzerland, and preparing to cross the Alps, heard the glad news from Italy that Silius'³ cavalry near the Po had sworn allegiance to Vitellius. Vitellius had been their proconsul in Africa. Thence they were summoned by Nero to precede him to Egypt, and then recalled for the Vindex war. Quartered in Italy and instigated by their officers, who, ignorant of Otho,

Silius' cavalry, together with Milan, Novara, Ivrea, and Vercelli, join Vitellius. Cæcina leads the legionaries over the Great St. Bernard.

Justice is sworn 'gainst tears, and hers would crave
The life she lived in; but the judge was just,
And then she died on him she could not save.
Their tomb was simple, and without a bust,
And held within their urn one mind, one heart, one dust."

The forged inscription is as follows:—

"Julia Alpinula hic jaceo.
Infelicitis Patris infelix proles.
Deæ Avent. sacerd.
Exorare Patris necem non Potui.
Male mori in fati illi erat.
Vixi annos xxiii."

Forged by Paulus Gulielmus, who took the name from a Baden inscription, N. 457, Alpinia Alpinula.

¹ The Medicean MS. has lost a leaf here, and consequently, from the word *mitigavit* in the present chapter down to the word *incertum* in chapter 75, *post*, we are deprived of that paramount authority, and thrown back on the two secondary Florentine MSS. of the fifteenth century in the Laurentian Library, copied from the Medicean while still intact. These secondary MSS. have been collated by Orelli. I follow the text as amended by him; nor can I, with all respect, accept the brilliant but daring emendation of Heraeus, who puts a full stop after *mitigavit*, and reading "*mox, ut est vulgus mutabile subitis, tam proni in misericordiam, quam immodici sævitia fuerant,*" κ.τ.λ., makes the soldiers, not the envoys, the medium of pardon and safety to Avenches—an improbable and scarcely artistic hypothesis.

² See the preceding note.

³ Called after C. Silius, legate of Upper Germany under the Emperor Tiberius (see *Annals*, i. 31).

pledged to Vitellius, extolled the approaching legions' strength and German army's fame, they joined Vitellius, and, as a gift to the new prince, brought over the strongest towns in Transpadane Italy, Milan, Novara, Ivrea, and Vercelli.¹ This Cæcina learnt from themselves. Feeling that a single squadron of cavalry could not hold the broadest part of Italy, he sent forward Gallic, Lusitanian, British auxiliaries, and German detachments with Petra's horse,² while he himself briefly paused to consider whether he should deflect³ by the Arlberg⁴ Pass into Noricum⁵ against the procurator Petronius Urbicus, whose loyalty to Otho was inferred from his gathering of auxiliaries and destruction of bridges. He feared, however, to lose touch with the van of foot and horse auxiliaries, and reflecting that the occupation of Italy would bring more glory, while, no matter where the scene of action, Noricum would be certain war-prize, he led his legionaries⁶ in heavy⁷ marching order over the winter snows of the Great St. Bernard.⁸

LXXI. Otho meanwhile unexpectedly roused himself from his voluptuous lethargy; postponing pleasures,⁹ cloaking luxury, wearing the becoming garb of emperor throughout—all the more dreaded for feigned virtue and recurrent vice. He summoned to the Capitol

Otho's reformation. He admires and forgives the unswerving loyalty of Marius Celsus.

¹ *Mediolanum, Novaria, Eporedia, Vercellæ.*

² Mentioned again, *post*, iv. 49. They were called after an illustrious family of Roman knights who bore the cognomen of Petra.

³ *Flecteret.* The Arlberg Pass over the Rætian Alps would be a great *deflection* from the appointed course over the Penine range.

⁴ *Ræticiis jugis.* The Arlberg Pass east of the Lake of Constance, leading into the Austrian Tyrol.

⁵ *Noricum.* Mr. Spooner accurately describes it as the district bounded on the north by the Danube, on the south by the Eastern Alps, comprising Styria, Eastern Tyrol, Salzburg, and Upper Austria.

⁶ *Subsignanum militem.* The legionaries attached to the *signa* of the Maniples.

⁷ *Grave* doubly describes the heavy marching order and the trials and difficulties of the winter passage.

⁸ It may be well to remember that it was the Little St. Bernard that Hannibal crossed.

⁹ Juvenal (ii. 99, *et seq.*) draws a different picture, but apparently not as correct as Tacitus, whose portraiture is verified by the dramatic and historical finale. Nor does the passage quoted by Orelli from Dio., lxiv. 8, militate against the accuracy of our author. The conduct there mentioned was before Otho roused himself for action; for, even according to Tacitus, *before Vitellius threatened him*, he was in a trance of voluptuous lethargy (see *post*, Book ii. cap. xi.).

Marius Celsus, consul elect, saved from military violence by nominal imprisonment,¹ seeking a reputation for clemency from that illustrious enemy. Celsus, pleading guilty of unswerving loyalty² to Galba, actually³ claimed credit⁴ for it. Otho, not as if to pardon, but rather as if in fear of such a foe,⁵ made him his adviser, intimate friend, and soon one of his generals. Celsus was destined to the same ill-fated loyalty towards Otho. His deliverance, pleasing to leaders, generally popular, found favour even with the soldiers, who admired the very virtue that incensed them.

LXXII. Similar exultation from a different motive echoed the death-knell of Tigellinus.⁶ Sophonius Tigellinus, of obscure origin, depraved youth, profligate age, had won command of the Watch, Prætorian guard, all virtue's prizes, by the short cut of vice. The more robust⁷ wickedness of cruelty and avarice soon followed, while he corrupted Nero heinously, sometimes ignored him, finally deserted and betrayed him. Hence no doom was so importunately demanded by the counter-agencies of Nero's foes and friends alike. Vinius had shielded him from Galba as a daughter's⁸ saviour—her saviour forsooth! not from motives of clemency, butcher as he was, but rather as something to fall back upon; because every villain, distrusting the present, fearing a change, stores up private influence

Death of
Tigellinus.

¹ See cap. xlv., ante.

² Compare "*damnatos fidei crimine, gravissimo inter desciscentes*" (cap. lix., ante).

³ See note on *ultro* in cap. vii., ante. ⁴ See note on *imputare*, cap. lv., ante.

⁵ I read with Meiser (ed. new Orelli), "*Nec Otho quasi ignosceret, sed, ne hostem metueret, consiliatorem adhibens*," κ.τ.λ. Mr. Spooner is in error when he observes that the word *consiliator* does not occur elsewhere. Meiser appositely cites Pliny, *Ep.*, iv. 17. 6, "*ille in gerendis consiliator et rector*;" and *Phædrus*, ii. 7. 2, "*consiliator maleficus*." Meiser's substitution of *consiliatorem* for the *Conciliationis* of the secondary Florentine MSS. makes good sense out of nonsense by a slight emendation. Nipperdey and Hærens do too much violence to the MSS. by reading "*deos testes mutus reconciliationis adhibens*."

⁶ Compare Juvenal, i. 155, *et seq.*:

"Pone Tigellinum, tæda lucebis in illa,
Qua stantes ardent, qui fixo gutture fumant,
Et latum media sulcum deducis arena."

⁷ Compare Cicero, *Philipp.*, ii. c. 25, s. 63: "*Sed hæc, quæ robustioris improbitatis sunt, omittamus: loquamur potius de nequissimo genere levitatis*." The wickedness of men is more robust than the degrading and effeminate vices of mere creatures of shame. This is the contrast made by Tacitus.

⁸ *Crispina* (see cap. xlvii., ante).

'gainst public wrath; heedless of virtue, he merely seeks reciprocal impunity. The people, roused by the combined incentive of old hatred against Tigellinus and Vinius' recent unpopularity, swarmed to the palace and Forum¹ and, packing circus and theatre where they have their fling, hooted riotously until Tigellinus, receiving the death-message at Mandragone Bagni,² and lingering amidst lustful dalliance and shame, cut his throat with a razor, deepening the blackness of his life even by the last moments of an ill-timed and degrading doom.

LXXIII. Simultaneously they cried for the blood of Calvia Crispinilla,³ who was rescued under various pretexts that cost Otho his reputation. She had schooled Nero in lust,⁴ visited Africa to incite Clodius Macer⁵ to insurrection, plainly plotted famine against the Roman people;⁶ yet afterwards became very popular when she married a consular, and, unscathed by Galba, Otho, Vitellius, culminated in wealth and childlessness,⁷ factors equally effective in times good or bad.

¹ The plural refers, as Mr. Godley observes, to the many *fora*, such as the *forum Augustum*, *boarium*, *olitivum*.

² *Sinuessanas aquas*. Mr. Furneaux informs us in his instructive note on Sinuessa in *Annals*, xii. 66, that the hot springs were at a short distance from the town (now Mandragone) at a place called *Aquæ Sinuessanæ* (Livy, xxii. 13. 10), and now called Bagni. Hence in the text I have given *Mandragone Bagni*. The town lies on the coast, north of the mouth of the Volturnus. Compare Martial, xi. 7. 11 : "Diceret hystericam se forsitan altera mæcha
In Sinuessano velle sedere lacu."

³ Orelli appositely cites Dio., lxxiii. 12 : Χωρίς δὲ ὃ τε Πολύκλειτος καὶ Καλοῦθα Κρισπινίλλα ἦγον, ἐπύρθουν, ἐσύλων πάνθ' ὅσα ἐνεδέχετο· ἐκεῖνος μὲν μετὰ τοῦ Ἡλίου ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, αὕτη δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος καὶ μετὰ τῆς Σαβίνης τοῦ Σπόρου· τήν τε γὰρ φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπιτροπείαν τὴν περὶ ἐσθῆτα, κάκιον γυνὴ καὶ ἐπιφανὴς οὖσα, ἐπερίστευτο καὶ δι' αὐτῆς πάντες ἀπεδύοντο.

⁴ *Magistra libidinum Neronis*. Just as Petronius is described in *Annals*, xvi. 18 : "Inter paucos familiarium Neroni adsumptus est, *elegantis arbitri*, dum nihil amœnum et molle adfluentia putat, nisi quod ei Petronius adprobavisset."

⁵ In order to avenge Nero. See *ante*, cap. vii. : "Macrum in Africa haud dubie turbantem."

⁶ By stopping the corn supplies from Africa.

⁷ Mr. Spooner appositely refers to Horace, *Sat.*, ii. 5. 27, *et seq.* :

"Magna minorve foro si res certabitur olim,
Vivet uter *locuples sine natis*, improbus, ultro
Qui meliorem audax vocet in jus, illius esto
Defensor; fama civem causaque priorem
Sperne, domi si natus erit, *fecundave conjux*."

And Juvenal, iii. 125, *et seq.* :

"Quid porro officium, ne nobis blandiar, aut quod
Pauperis hic meritum, si curet nocte togatus

LXXIV. Otho meanwhile sent several letters tainted with effeminate blandishments to Vitellius, tendering wealth, favour, the choice of a voluptuous retreat.¹ Vitellius played a similar part, softly at first, reciprocating the silly and sickening farce. Then they wrangled amid colourable recriminations of infamy and crime. Otho recalled Galba's envoys and sent his own, as if from the Senate, to both German armies, the Italian Legion,² and the forces quartered at Lyons.³ The envoys stayed with Vitellius too readily for constraint. The Prætorians, whom Otho had sent with them by way of escort, were, to prevent tampering with the legionaries, sent back, and with them a letter from Fabius Valens, in the German army's name, to the Prætorian and City cohorts, extolling Vitellius' power and offering peace; he actually⁴ upbraided them for diverting to Otho the purple so long before⁵ conferred upon Vitellius.

LXXV. Probed by alternate promises and threats of hopeless war and advantageous peace, still the Prætorians never swerved. However, Otho sent spies⁶ to Germany; Vitellius, to Rome. But both were balked; the Vitellianists, however, escaping detection⁷ in the vast crowd of unknown faces, while their strange appearance betrayed the Othonianists where all knew each other.⁸ Vitellius sent a letter

Loyalty of the
Prætorians.
Spies from both
sides balked.

Currere, cum prætor lictorem impellat et ire
Præcipitem jubeat dudum vigilantibus orbis,
Ne prior *Albinam et Modiam* collega salutet?"

¹ Dio. (lxiv. 10) and Suetonius (*Otho*, viii.) go farther than Tacitus, and allege that Otho offered Vitellius a share in the empire. On the other hand, the account of Plutarch (*Otho*, iv.) corresponds exactly with the statement of Tacitus.

² Prima Italica (see cap. lix., *ante*).

³ The Taurine Horse (see caps. lix. and lxiv., *ante*).

⁴ *Ultro* (see my note on *ultro*, cap. vii., *ante*).

⁵ Fabius Valens uses a rhetorical exaggeration, as Vitellius had been proclaimed emperor scarcely a fortnight before Otho. Vitellius was proclaimed emperor in Lower Germany on the 2nd of January, and in Upper Germany on the 3rd of January (see cap. lvii., *ante*). Otho was proclaimed on the 15th of January, the day of Galba's death (see cap. xxvii., *ante*).

⁶ *Insidiatores*, "spies." So I translate; nor can I, with every respect, accept the rendering of Heræus, who terms them *Meuchelmörder*, or assassins.

⁷ *Fallentibus*, corresponding to the Greek *λανθάνειν*.

⁸ *Omnibus in vicem gnaris*. I accept the emendation of Rhenanus followed by Orelli, Meiser, Heræus, and subsequent editors. The secondary Florentine MSS. *a* and *b* have "*omnibus in vicem ignaris*," defended by Ernesti as meaning that "all in

to Otho's brother, Titianus,¹ threatening him and his son with death unless Vitellius' mother and children went scatheless. Both families escaped. Fear perchance restrained Otho; victory enhanced Vitellius' clemency.

LXXVI. The first inspiring intelligence reached Otho from Illyricum²—the accession of the Dalmatian, Pannonian, and Mœsian legions.³ Similar news came from Spain,⁴ and Cluvius Rufus was officially thanked, when it appeared forthwith that Spain had joined Vitellius. Even Aquitania, though sworn to Otho's allegiance by Julius Cordus, was unstable. Loyal affection was nowhere; everything shifted⁵ under fear and necessity. This dread swept Gallia Narbonensis⁶ round to Vitellius, a natural movement towards neighbouring and superior force. Distant provinces and sea-severed armies remained steadfast to Otho, not through zeal, but the name of Rome, the Senate's lustre,⁷ weighed immensely, and minds were prepossessed by the first name heard. Vespasian had sworn the army of Judæa, Mucianus, the Syrian legions,⁸ to Otho; while Egypt and the Eastern provinces were governed in his name. Africa followed suit, and Carthage took the lead; for there, without awaiting permission of the proconsul Vipstanus Apronianus, Crescens, Nero's freedman (for even such in evil times play politician), entertained the people to com-
Vespasian in the East, and all the Eastern provinces, support Otho. Vitellius is stronger in the West.

turn were unfamiliar with the faces of the Othonians." Meiser has, however, well pointed out that Tacitus would have expressed this meaning by writing "*utrisque in vicem ignaris*," and not "*omnibus in vicem ignaris*." I also submit that another reason for adopting the emendation is, that it stands out in marked antithesis to the preceding "*per tantam hominum multitudinem mutua ignorantia fallentibus*."

¹ Lucius Salvius Otho Titianus was Otho's elder brother, proconsul for Asia under Nero in 65 A.D.

² *Illyricum* comprised Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Mœsia.

³ The legions in Dalmatia were XI. Claudia, XIV. Gemina Martia Victrix; in Pannonia, XIII. Gemina, VII. Galbiana; in Mœsia, III. Gallica, VII. Claudia, VIII. Augusta.

⁴ In Spain were VI. Victrix, X. Gemina.

⁵ Orelli refers to Vergil, *Æn.*, iv. 363: "*huc illuc volvens oculos*;" and v. 408; xii. 764.

⁶ *Gallia Narbonensis* represented South-east France, comprising (as Mr. Spooner points out) Savoy, Dauphiné, Provence, and Languedoc.

⁷ *Praetexto senatus*. Compare *maiore praetextu* (ἐν μεγάλῳ προσχῆματι), cap. xix., ante.

⁸ In Judæa were V. Macedonica, X. Fretensis, XV. Apollinaris; in Syria, IV. Scythica, VI. Ferrata, XII. Fulminata.

morate Otho's accession, and the citizens acted with inordinate alacrity.¹ The other African states followed Carthage.

LXXVII. Amid party-riven armies and provinces Vitellius indeed must needs fight for sovereign sway; while
Otho's administration and appointments. Otho continued to administer the empire as if in profound peace, sometimes becomingly, often with indecent and selfish haste. Elected consul with his brother Titianus as colleague up to March,² he nominated Verginius, by way of soothing the German army, as immediate successor together with Pompeius Vopiscus, ostensibly as an old comrade, but, in public opinion, as a compliment to Vienne. Nero's and Galba's nominations for the remaining consulates stood intact, limiting, however, the two Sabini up to July, and Arrius Antoninus³ and Marius Celsus up to September—appointments never vetoed even by Vitellius after victory.⁴ But Otho bestowed the crowning dignities of pontiff and augur on distinguished senior officials, or solaced youthful nobles just back from exile by re-endowing them with the priesthoods of their ancestors. Cadius Rufus, Pedius Blæsus, Sævinius Pontius, were rehabilitated in the Senate. They had been degraded for extortion under Claudius and Nero, and were now pardoned as though guilty, not of avarice, but treason—a charge so unpopular⁵ as to stultify even good laws.

¹ *Pleraque sine modo festinavit.* A euphemistic way of describing the destruction of Galba's statues and all other tokens of his empire.

² During the republic the consulship contained two essentials: it was *Imperium duplex*, and it was *Imperium annuum*. This great historical office was first impaired and prostituted by Julius Cæsar, who nominated several sets of consuls during each year. The fraction of the year during which each set of consuls ruled was technically termed a *nundinium*. In the year 69 A.D. (the year dealt with in the text), we have Galba and Vinius, Otho and Titianus, Verginius and Vopiscus, the two Sabini, Arrius Antoninus and Marius Celsus, Valens, Cæcina, Roscius Regulus, C. Quinctius Atticus and Cn. Cæcilius Simplex—fifteen in all. In the reign of Commodus there were twenty-five.

³ Arrius Antoninus, maternal grandfather of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, praised as a poet by Pliny. He lived to see Nerva reign, and commiserated him on the misfortune of being emperor.

⁴ Nero had nominated the two Sabini for a *nundinium* of four months, and Galba had nominated Arrius Antoninus and Marius Celsus for a *nundinium* of similar duration. Otho halved each *nundinium* so as to limit the consuls as mentioned in the text.

⁵ The perjury of informers had rendered charges of treason so unpopular that those accused of it came to be regarded as victims and martyrs.

LXXVIII. He tempted with similar prodigality the sympathies of states and provinces—Seville and Merida¹ with extension of incorporation; ² all Langres³ with enfranchisement; Bætica with Moorish acquisitions; Cappadocia and Africa with new rights, for parade rather than permanence. So far he was justified by pressing necessity and anxiety; yet even then recalling amorous memories he restored by senatorial decree Poppæa's statues. Some even believed he designed to commemorate Nero for the sake of popularity. Indeed, some displayed Nero's images; and sometimes citizens and soldiery, as if by way of compliment and homage, even hailed Otho as "Nero-Otho."⁴ He looked blank,⁵ afraid to forbid, ashamed to acknowledge.

Otho seeks to win the provinces by lavish indulgence.

LXXIX. Civil war absorbed attention, and foreign relations were neglected. Consequently emboldened, the Rhoxolani,⁶ a Sarmatian race, who had destroyed two cohorts the winter before, invaded Mœsia with nine thousand horse, sanguine, jubilant, bent on plunder more than battle. The third legion, with auxiliaries, suddenly and unawares attacked their scattered forces. The Romans were in perfect fighting trim; the Sarmatians, separated, greedy, baggage-laden marauders,⁷ their swift horses stumbling on the

The Rhoxolani invade Mœsia, and are overwhelmed.

¹ *Hispalensibus et Emeritensibus*. "Hispalis in Hispania ulteriore sive Bætica (Pliny, iii. 1. 13) nunc *Sevilla*, Emerita Augusta, in quam Augustus coloniam deduxerat in Lusitania nunc *Merida*" (Orelli).

² *Familiarum adjectiones*. Orelli cites Livy, xliii. 17: "*Postulantibus Aquileiensium legatis, ut numerum colonorum augerent, mille et quingentæ familiæ ex Sc. scriptæ.*"

³ *Lingonibus universis*. Some have contended that because Spain is the subject in hand, the introduction of the Gallic *Langres* is most inapposite—"Qu'allait-il faire dans cette galère?" But we know of no Spanish Lingones, and the emendations of Lipsius and Heræus are arbitrary and fanciful.

⁴ Mr. Godley happily cites Cicero, *Phil.*, ii. 30: "*Ciceronem exclamavit, 'He called out, 'Cicero!'*" Mr. Godley also cites Plutarch, *Otho*, iii.: *Τὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος θερὸν ὄμμα προσγεγραμμένον ἔχοντα τῷ τοῦ Ὀθωνος.*

⁵ *In suspensio tenuit*. *Tenere* is here used in the neuter sense of maintaining a certain condition like the Greek *ἔχειν*. Compare Vergil, *Æn.*, ii. 505: "*Tenent Danaï, qua deficit ignis;*" and Livy, xxiii. 44. 6: "*Imber per noctem totam tenuit.*"

⁶ The *Rhoxolani*, according to Orelli, following Strabo, vii. 3. 17, were between the Tanais and Borysthenes. Heræus, on the other hand, fixes them in Bessarabia.

⁷ *Cupidine prædæ graves onere sarcinarum*. The double ablative is not rare in Tacitus. Orelli cites *Annals*, ii. 23: "*Qui tumidis Germaniæ terriis, profundis amnibus immenso nubium tractu validus.*" Also *Annals*, xii. 23: "*Sed tum astu locorum fraude prior.*"

slippery roads, were slaughtered helplessly. For the Sarmatian valour is marvellously dependent on external conditions. Cowards on foot, in a cavalry charge they are almost irresistible. But then, 'midst rain and thaw, while their horses slipped and their heavy scale-armour¹ bore them down, their lances and enormous two-handed swords were useless. This gear of their leaders and nobility, formed of steel plates or hardest hides, is sword-proof, but hampers recovery from a fall² in a charge. Moreover, the deep soft snow embedded them. The Roman soldier, nimbler³ in his cuirass, hurled javelin or lance, and upon occasion, at close quarters, stabbed with his light sword the defenceless Sarmatian, shieldless by custom, until the few survivors took refuge in the swamps, where they perished from cold or wounds. When news reached Rome, M. Aponius, governor of Mœsia, was presented with a triumphal statue, and Fulvus Aurelius, Julianus Tettius, and Numisius Lupus, lieutenants-general, with consular insignia. Otho was elated, and took the credit of a fortunate conqueror, whose generals and armies had exalted the nation.

LXXX. Meanwhile a tumult from a trivial and unexpected cause well-nigh destroyed Rome. Otho had ordered the seventeenth⁴ cohort from Ostia to Rome. Its equipment was entrusted to Varius Crispinus, a Prætorian tribune, who, to execute instructions undisturbed in a quiet camp, ordered the armoury to be opened and the service-waggons to be filled at nightfall. The time developed⁵ suspicion; the motive, accusation; the studied quiet, tumult; while the

Alarming
tumult origi-
nating at Ostia.

¹ *Cataphracta*, "scale-armour." See Heliod., *Æth.*, ix. 15, who describes the effect of the mail-clad horsemen: Σιθηροῦς τις ἀνὴρ φαίνόμενος ἢ καὶ σφυρήλατος ἀνδρὶς κινούμενος. Orelli refers to *Amm. Marc.*, xvi. 10. 8, who graphically describes the effect: "Thoracum muniti tegminibus et limbis ferreis cincti, ut Praxitelis manu polita crederes simulacra, non viros." See new edition of Smith's *Diet. Ant.*, tit. "Cataphracta," vol. i. p. 383.

² When clad in this complete suit of scale-armour, the horseman had to be helped to mount his horse.

³ Compare Vergil, *Æn.*, viii. 310: "Miratur facilisque oculos fert omnia circum."

⁴ A cohort of Roman citizens like that (mentioned in cap. lxiv., *ante*) stationed at Lyons. These cohorts bore distinct and separate numbers like the legions. It is supposed that there were thirty-two of them.

⁵ *Evaluit*. Orelli refers to *Annals*, xiv. 58: "Multa secutura, quæ adusque bellum evalescerent."

tipsy men longed for the arms they saw. The soldiers uproariously charged tribunes and centurions as traitors arming the senatorial households to destroy Otho. Some were stupid and drunk; every villain prowled for booty; the mass, as is their wont, longed for any revolution; while night paralyzed discipline and loyalty.¹ Slaying their tribune, true to his colours, and every martinet centurion, seizing arms, with naked swords they took to horse² and made for Rome and the palace.

LXXXI. Otho was holding revel with a throng of rank and beauty.³ Distracted 'twixt dread of military panic or imperial treachery, of risk in abiding arrest or in scattered flight, now feigning courage, now betrayed by fear, they gazed on Otho; and, as happens in suspicious moods, Otho's fears alarmed them.⁴ He, as fearful for the Senate as himself, had instantly sent the Prætorian commanders to allay the soldiers' fury, and now ordered all guests home forthwith.⁵ Then magistrates flung away official badges and discarded retinues of friends or slaves; while old men and women, through darkness and devious city routes, hurried, few homewards, many to friends or the obscure shelter⁶ of some lowly client.

LXXXII. The impetuous soldiery crashed through the palace

¹ "*Et obsequia meliorum nox abstulerat.*" Night had deprived loyal men of the means of observing discipline, and so "night paralyzed discipline and loyalty."

² They bestrode the horses of the service-waggons and, possibly, also the horses of the small force of cavalry usually attached either to a legion or a cohort of Roman citizens.

³ History repeats itself:

"There was a sound of revelry by night,
And Belgium's capital had gathered then
Her beauty and her chivalry, and bright
The lamps shone o'er fair women and brave men;
A thousand hearts beat happily; and when
Music arose with its voluptuous swell,
Soft eyes look'd love to eyes which spake again,
And all went merry as a marriage bell;
But hush! hark! a deep sound strikes like a rising knell!"

⁴ Orelli cites Plutarch, *Otho*, iii.: Τὸν Ὀθωνα δεινὴ καταλαμβάνειν ἀπορία φοβούμενος γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτὸς ἦν φοβερός ἐκείνοις καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνηρτημένους ἑώρα ταῖς ὕψεσιν ἀναύδους καὶ περιθεεῖς, ἐνίου καὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν ἡκοντας ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον.

⁵ Plutarch, *Otho*, iii.: Τοὺς κεκλημένους ἄνδρας ἀναστῆσας καθ' ἑτέρας θύρας ἀφῆκε.

⁶ *Incertas latebras.* Mr. Spooner appositely cites *Annals*, iii. 42: "*Florus incertis latebris victores frustratus.*"

doors into the banquet-hall, calling for Otho and wounding the opposing tribune,¹ Julius Martialis, and legionary prefect,² Vitellius Saturninus. Nothing but arms and menaces, now towards centurions and tribunes, now towards the whole Senate, under the spell³ of panic! Lacking a scapegoat, they claimed wholesale outrage, until Otho, forgetting his position, mounted on a couch and barely restrained them by entreaties and tears. They returned to camp unwillingly, like guilty men. Next day doors were closed as in a captured city—not a citizen abroad; the populace crest-fallen. The soldiers looked downcast and sullen rather than repentant. Their prefects, Licinius Proculus and Plotius Firmus, addressed the companies with characteristic mildness or severity. Their exhortations concluded with a present of five thousand sesterces⁴ per man. Then Otho ventured into camp. Instantly⁵ the tribunes and centurions surrounded him, discarding their badges⁶ and praying for discharge and protection. The soldiers felt the slur, and, returning to duty, actually demanded the execution of the ringleaders.

The soldiers burst into the palace, but are calmed by Otho, and finally return to duty.

LXXXIII. Otho, while conscious of revolution and military schism, where the select few demanded repression of prevailing disorder, and the vast majority, revelling

Otho addresses the repentant soldiery.

¹ That is, the Prætorian tribunes (see cap. xxviii., ante).

² Prefect of the legion Prima Adjutrix Classicorum, the only legion then in Rome. The office of legionary prefect is not mentioned elsewhere in any classical historian, and appears for the first time in the inscriptions of Marcus Aurelius. His office is thus described by Vegetius, ii. 9: *Præfectus Legionis, qui absente Legato tamquam vicarius ipsius potestatem maximam retinebat.* His functions corresponded somewhat with those of a modern major-general.

³ "*Lymphatis cæco pavore animis.*" Compare Vergil, *Æn.*, vii. 377:

"*Sine more furit lymphata per urbem.*"

⁴ Close on £50.

⁵ *Atque* has here the force of "instantly." Compare Vergil, *Georg.*, i. 202 (cited by Mr. Godley):

"*Si brachia forte remisit,*

Atque illum in præceps prono rapit alveus amni."

⁶ The badges of the tribune were a gold ring, striped tunic, and ornamental sword-belt. Compare Juvenal, vii. 89:

"*Ille et militiæ multis largitur honorem,*
Semestri vatium digitos circumligat auro."

And Martial, xiv. 32 (*Parazonium*):

"*Militiæ decus hoc, et grati nomen honoris,*
Arma tribuniciū cingere digna latus."

The centurions' badge of office was the vine-stick.

in tumult and corrupt government, naturally gravitated through riot and rapine towards civil war, nevertheless remembered that he could not hold his grip on a sceptre, that was treason's prize, by sudden discipline and primitive austerity; but finally, moved by Rome's danger and the Senate's peril, spoke as follows:¹ "Comrades! I am not here² either to enkindle your affections towards me or to rouse your valour—both full to overflowing; but to ask you to temper your spirit and set measure on your love for me. The late tumult sprang neither from greed nor hate—those mainsprings of mutiny—nor yet from danger shirked or feared. Your enthusiastic loyalty evinced more zeal than discretion. For often fatal consequences attend honourable motives lacking judgment. We are starting for war. Will policy, will fleeting opportunities, tolerate the publication of every despatch, the open discussion of every plan? Ignorance sometimes befits soldiers as much as knowledge. Generals' authority, inexorable discipline, inherently require³ even centurions and tribunes often merely to obey orders. If every man may ask for reasons, farewell⁴ to discipline and command! Will arms be seized at dead of night even yonder?⁵ Will some random scoundrel or drunkard (sole authors, methinks, of the late mad panic) imbrue his hands in his centurion's or tribune's blood, or burst into his emperor's tent?"

LXXXIV. "True you meant to serve me; but in hurry,⁶ darkness, general confusion, a chance may open up even against

¹ It has been well remarked that here Tacitus purports to give the very words of Otho's speech, whereas in cap. xv., *ante* (as Mr. Spooner points out), he merely says of Galba, "Galba locutus fertur," and of Piso, cap. xxix., *ante*, "in hunc modum allocutus."

² The genius of the Latin language permits the postponement of the principal verb (*venit*) to the second limb of the sentence; idiomatic English necessitates its earlier appearance.

³ *Ita se habet*, "is so constituted" or "inherently requires."

⁴ *Pereunte obsequio etiam imperium intercidit*. The indicative marks an inevitable result. Mr. Spooner is very unfortunate in his quotation from Horace, *Odes*, iii. 3. 7. How could Horace write the *third* line of an *Alcaic* stanza: "Si fractus *illabatur* orbis"? Of course he wrote—

"Si fractus *illabatur* orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ."

⁵ *Illic*, "yonder;" *δευτικῶς*, "on the field of battle."

⁶ *Discursus*. Compare Juvenal, i. 85, *et seq.*:

"Quidquid agunt homines, votum timor ira voluptas
Gaudia *discursus* nostri farrago libelli est;"

me. If the maledictions of Vitellius and his satellites could infuse the spirit of their choice into our hearts and souls, would it be aught save mutiny and discord? Soldier defying centurion, centurion discarding tribune, horse and foot in one destruction blent!¹ Comrades! armies depend for their existence on obedience rather than officious inquisitiveness; and the army most orderly before danger is bravest in the midst of it. Mind your arms and courage! Leave strategy and valour's guidance to me! Few have erred; two only shall suffer. Do you obliterate all memory of that shameful night, and may no other army ever hear those lamentable attacks upon the Senate! By Heavens! the very Germans, at this moment raised against us by Vitellius, dare not menace the source of empire, the glory of every province. Will Italy's foster-sons, Rome's own children, call for the blood of that order, whose brilliant lustre already dims² into eclipse the tarnished party of Vitellius? Vitellius has snatched up a few tribes; he has the shadow of an army. The Senate is with us. Hence on this side is the republic; on that, her foes. What! think you this beauteous city depends on houses, buildings, walls?³ What boots it⁴ whether those dumb, lifeless things tumble or are renewed? This eternal empire, universal peace, your safety, mine, rest upon the Senate's inviolability. This institution, hallowed by Rome's father and founder, linking for aye kings and emperors, let us hand down inviolate to our children—our forefathers' trust! For as the Senate springs from you, so do princes from the Senate."

Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 74: "Romæ sueti *discursus*;" also Martial (cited by Mayor), vii. 39. 1: "*Discursus* varios vagumque mane."

¹ Compare Byron: "Rider and horse, friend, foe, in one red burial blent!"

² *Præstringimus*. The brilliant and certain emendation of J. F. Gronovius for *MS. perstringimus*.

³ No foreign or English critic appears to have cited the renowned passage of Sophocles, *Œd. R.*, 56:

ὧς οὐδέν ἐστιν οὔτε πύργος οὔτε ναῦς

Ἐρημος ἀνδρῶν μὴ ξυνοικούντων ἔσω.

See also Thucydides, vii. 77: "Ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις καὶ οὐ τευχὴ οὐδὲ νῆες ἀνδρῶν κεφαί. Orelli refers to Livy, v. 54. 2: "In superficie tignisque caritas nobis patriæ pendet?" He also cites from Augustus, *In Orat. ad Pop.*; Dion., lvi. 5. 3: "Ἀνθρώποι γὰρ πού πόλις ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰκίαι οὐδὲ στοαὶ οὐδ' ἀγοραὶ ἀνδρῶν κεφαί. It will be perceived this is a mere copy of Thucydides, vii. 77.

⁴ *Promisca sunt*. A Greek construction. *Promiscum* is attracted by the preceding nouns into the neuter plural.

LXXXV. The oration, fashioned¹ to touch and soothe the soldiers' hearts, and the temperate severity (limited to two and no more) were well received, and palliatives were more effective than coercion. Yet Rome was feverish amid the din of arms and signs of war. For, although military turbulence was desultory, yet the soldiers were scattered in disguise through the houses, and watched with sinister inquisitiveness all whom rank, wealth, lustre exposed to slander. Many believed that even the Vitellianist soldiery had entered the city as party spies. Hence suspicion was rife, and fear almost invaded home privacy. But the greatest terror was in public; for, with every breath of news, men masked their hearts and faces 'gainst semblance of depression in adversity or apathy over success. On the assembly of the Senate, however, the besetting difficulty was how to steer a middle course, lest silence might indicate contempt, or outspokenness arouse suspicion; besides, Otho, recently a subject, was an expert in flattery. Hence they turned and twisted² their utterances, calling Vitellius a public enemy and traitor, the shrewdest indulging in commonplace vituperation, some taunting him pointedly, but in the thick of the din or drowning their own voices in the uproar.

Feverish state
of Rome.
Time-serving
senators.

LXXXVI. Divers reports of prodigies augmented terror. Victory's chariot-reins ('twas told) had dropped from her hands in the precincts of the Capitol;³ a giant

Prodigies.
Inundation of
the Tiber.

¹ I adopt the emendation of Meiser (ed. new Orelli), "*et oratio apta ad perstringendos mulcendosque militum animos*," an admirable specimen of conservative emendation. The MS. stood, *oratiopodpstringendos*. Hence the *Editio Princeps*, dropping the intervening *od*, read *per perstringendos*, which was of course absurd. Moreover, *oratio ad perstringendos* is scarcely Latin. Hence on the view *apta* may well have slipped out, and has now been reinserted by Meiser. Heræus reads *parata* without sufficient proof for its insertion.

² Compare Cicero, *In Cæl.*, vi. 13: "*Versare suam naturam et regere ad tempus atque huc et illuc torquere ac flectere*."

³ *In vestibulo Capitolii*. *Vestibulum* was the enclosed space between the street and the entrance of a house—the courtyard. Here it consequently means "the precincts" of the Capitol. Compare Juvenal, vii. 125, *et seq.*:

"Hujus enim stat currus aeneus, alti
Quadrijuges in vestibulis, atque ipse feroci
Bellatore sedens curvatum hostile minatur
Eminus et statua meditatur prælia lusca."

spectre had burst from Juno's sanctuary;¹ the statue of blessed² Julius on the Tiber island had turned from west to east³ on a cloudless, unruffled day; an ox had spoken in Etruria; animals bore monsters amid many other signs our ancestors noted even in peace, which we only hearken to in panic. But the chief source of fear, combining present disaster with future dread, was a sudden inundation of the Tiber, which, hugely swollen, had swept away the Wooden Bridge,⁴ and, flung back by that vast obstacle, flooded not only the low-lying and level districts of the city, but even the quarters deemed safe. Many were snatched off in the streets, more cut off in their shops and beds. The people were famine-stricken, being unable to earn or obtain⁵ food. The stagnant waters undermined the foundations of the lodging-flats,⁶ which tumbled as the flood receded. Scarcely was the scare over when the obstruction of Otho's line of march, over the Campus Martius and Flaminian Way, was distorted from accidental and natural causes into a prodigy and omen of disaster.

LXXXVII. After solemn purification of Rome, Otho weighed his plans of action, and, since the St. Bernard,⁷ Mont Genèvre,⁸ as well as all other passes into Gaul, were closed by the armies of Vitellius, he determined to advance on Gallia Narbonensis, as his fleet⁹ was

Purification
of Rome.
Otho determines
to advance on
Gallia Nar-
bonensis.

¹ *Cella Junonis*. Juno's sanctuary or chapel. There were three sanctuaries or chapels in the Capitol, Jupiter's in the centre—"media qui sedet æde Deus"—and Juno's and Minerva's on either side.

² See note on *divus*, cap. i., ante.

³ A happy augury for Vespasian, who was in the East.

⁴ *Pons Sublicius*. The wooden bridge built entirely (without a nail) of timber planks removable and readjustable at pleasure, and so built by reason of the difficulty of destroying in time its predecessor when heroically defended by Horatius Cocles. It crossed the Tiber from the *Velabrum*, and (as Mr. Godley informs us) is now represented by the Ponte Rotto.

⁵ Here a sheet of the Medicean MS. has been lost, and from this until Book ii. 2, "*Cyprum*," we are thrown back on the secondary Florentine MSS. *a* and *b*.

⁶ *Insulæ* were blocks of flats let in lodgings to poor people. They were lofty and dangerous, as may be seen from Juvenal, iii. 198, *et seq.* :

"Jam poscit aquam, jam frivola transfert
Ucalegon, *tabulata* tibi jam *tertia* fumant,
Tu nescis."

⁷ *Pœninæ Alpes*, crossed by Cæcina (see cap. lxx., ante).

⁸ *Cottivæ Alpes*, crossed by Fabius Valens (see cap. lxxvi., ante).

⁹ Otho's fleet was stationed at Fréjus (*Forojuliensis*), on the coast of Gallia Narbonensis.

powerful and loyal, inasmuch as he had formed into legionary *cadres*¹ the survivors of the Mulvian Bridge massacre,² whom Galba had harshly imprisoned, and had promised the rest of the marines³ future promotion into a higher branch of the service. He strengthened the fleet with the City Cohorts and the bulk of the Prætorians—mainstay of the army—counsellors at once and guardians of the very generals. Superintendence⁴ of the expedition was intrusted to Antonius Novellus, Suedius Clemens, first-class centurions, and the tribune, Æmilius Pacensis, cashiered by Galba and reinstated by Otho. The freedman, Moschus, remained naval engineer,⁵ continued in office to keep an eye upon his betters.⁶ Command of the infantry and cavalry was committed to Suetonius Paulinus, Marius Celsus, and Annius Gallus. But Licinius Proculus, the Prætorian prefect, had the emperor's ear. A smart garrison officer, but no soldier, he constantly impugned Paulinus' prestige, Celsus' energy, and Gallus' ripe judgment, their respective merits; and thus, what proved an easy task, treachery and craft left honour and simplicity in the lurch.

LXXXVIII. At that time Cornelius Dolabella was banished to Aquino⁷ as a prisoner of state on no specific charge—a marked man through his ancient lineage and relationship to Galba.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Spooner for this rendering of *in numeros*. The French *cadres* has no exact equivalent in English. The *cadres* are the *embryo* or *nucleus* of a force.

² The unattached body of oarsmen had been decimated by Galba, as described in cap. vi., *ante*, on the Mulvian Bridge. They were not attached to, nor did they form any portion of, Nero's marine legion—the Prima Adjutrix Classicorum.

³ That is, the marines on board the fleet at Fréjus (*Forojuliensis*). The marine service in those days was not an object of ambition, as may be seen from Livy, xxxii. 23. 9 (cited by Heræus): "Navales socii relictis nuper classibus ad spem *honoratioris militiæ* transgressi." The promotion promised was like that of Nero's marines, the Prima Adjutrix Classicorum—a distinguished legion. See M. Pfitzner, "*allgemeine Geschichte der Kaiser-Legionen*," referred to in Meiser's (ed. new *Orelli*) *excursus* i. to Part I. of the new edition of the history.

⁴ *Summa expeditionis* means no more than "superintendence," otherwise the historian would be involved in the absurdity of putting two centurions and a tribune over the heads of Suetonius Paulinus and his colleagues.

⁵ *Curam navium*. "Ubi peditum equitumque copiæ in Galliam appulissent, is remigibus præesse et, si quid detrimenti passæ essent naves, eas reficiendas curare debebat" (Meiser).

⁶ Louandre wrongly translates, "Avec mission de suivre et de surveiller ceux qui valaient mieux que lui." The Latin *ad observandam honestiorum fidem* means "to keep an eye on his *social* betters," as he was only a *libertus*.

⁷ *Colonia Aquinas*, in *Latium*.

Otho invited many magistrates and consulars to escort¹ him, not as military advisers or officers, but as a retinue, and amongst others Lucius Vitellius, whom he treated as the rest, and not as a brother of a rival emperor and foe. Thereupon Rome became anxious, and every order apprehensive. The leading senators were helpless dotards, demoralized by prolonged peace; the nobility, slothful and effeminate; the knights, untrained in war; the more they all struggled to disguise and cloak their fear, the more they betrayed themselves. On the other hand were many who foolishly vied in the purchase of splendid arms, noble steeds, ay,² and luxurious table-ware³ and stimulants of lustful appetite—military outfits forsooth! Wise men thought of peace and fatherland. Every frivolous and reckless character was inflated with empty hopes; many, bankrupt in peace,⁴ welcomed revolution, safest amid disquietude.

LXXXIX. But the people at large, whom force of numbers had rendered indifferent to public anxieties,⁵ now gradually began to feel war's evils, when all revenues were diverted into the war-chest, and the price of food increased; a pinch they had not felt as much during the Vindex insurrection, as Rome was then safe, and the provincial war between the legions and Gaul was, in effect, merely foreign. For since blessed Augustus consolidated the imperial power, the Roman

Banishment of
Cornelius Dolabella.
Demoralization
of Roman
Society.

The evils of war
begin to be felt
in Rome.

¹ *Expedire*, as in cap. x., ante, means "to set out on an expedition."

² The insertion of *quidam* in the middle of the passage is dealt with by Meiser and Hærsus as an *anacoluthon*. But the artistic break in the sentence lends emphasis to the greater folly of those who went in for luxurious table-ware and epicureanism. *Quidam* is therefore best translated as "ay, and."

³ *Apparatus conviviorum*, "table-ware"—"*Tafelgeschirr*" (Hærsus).

⁴ *Multi afflictæ fide in pace usi*. Meiser's universally accepted emendation for the *multis afflictæ fides* of the secondary Florentine MSS. a and b.

⁵ *Magnitudine nimia communium curarum expers populus*. Hærsus proposes to read "*magnitudine imperii nimia*." No doubt such an alteration would make interpretation easier; but, as I once heard Professor Tyrrell pointedly observe, some modern and rash innovators seek to make Thucydides as easy as Xenophon; nor should we seek to make Sallust the criterion for Tacitus. The existing text is admirably defended by Meiser, who observes, "*Immensus pauperiorum numerus cotidianis tantummodo vitæ necessitatibus providere coactus erat neque ulla solitudine affliciebatur de Imperii salute*." I cannot agree with Mr. Spooner in making *expers* govern *magnitudine nimia*; nor can I approve of his interpretation or translation of the passage.

people had fought far away for the tribulation or glory of a single lord. Under Tiberius and Caligula only mischiefs of peace¹ had touched² the state; the attempt of Scribonianus³ 'gainst Claudius was instantly stifled; Nero was driven away by a mere whisper rather than the sword. But now⁴ legions, fleets, and, rare occurrence, the Prætorians and City soldiery were being arrayed for action. The East and the West with all their panoply stood in reserve;⁵ field for a protracted struggle had there been other generals. Some counselled Otho to tarry scrupulously for the re-enshrinement of the sacred shields;⁶ but he scorned all delay, Nero's bane, he said; Cæcina too, already past the Alps, spurred him the more.

XC. On the 14th of March he entrusted the Fatherland to the Senate, and presented the returned exiles with any unliquidated proceeds of the state sales⁷ of Nero's confiscations; a most just donation and apparently munificent, but really worthless by reason of the long accelerated collection.⁸ He next summoned an assembly; dilated on Rome's

14th of March,
A.D. 69; A.U.C.
822.
Otho leaves
Rome.

¹ Such as the informers; the number of exiles; judicial murders of innocent people.

² *Ad rem publicam pertinere*. So I read with Meiser for the *rei publicæ pertinere* of the secondary Florentine MSS. Others read *pertinere*, which is unintelligible.

³ M. Furius Camillus Scribonianus—legate of Dalmatia—revolted in A.D. 42, but was crushed in five days.

⁴ The Latin *tum* is best translated in this context by the English "now."

⁵ *A tergo*, "in reserve;" "*en seconde ligne*;" "*In zweiter Linie*" (Hærusus). Meiser cites *Burnouf*: "Quelle belle et grande image!" dit Ferlet; "les armées d'Othon et de Vitellius marchant pour se heurter dans les plaines de l'Italie; et derrière elles l'Orient et l'Occident prêts avec toutes leurs forces, comme deux champions redoutables, à entrer en lice pour la même querelle, si elle n'eût pas été vidée si promptement."

⁶ The twelve sacred shields were brought forth from their shrine in the Temple of Mars on March 1, and, after being in the hands of the Salii for thirty days, were re-enshrined at the end of the month. Otho left Rome on the 14th day of March. See next chapter.

⁷ *Reliquias Neronianarum sectionum nondum in fœcum conversas*. *Section* was a public or state sale by the quæstors of the whole property of those whose crimes or offences had rendered them liable to forfeiture, as in proscription, or in cases of unsatisfied state claims, or public fines, or penalties. The sale took place *sub hasta*, and transferred Quiritarian ownership. However, like our sheriff's sale under a writ of *fieri facias*, the quæstor gave no title, and the purchaser took subject to all prior equities and liabilities. See Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, new edit., tit. "*sectio*," vol. ii. 615; and I. xx.; II. xcii., *post*.

⁸ *Sed festinata jam pridem exactione usu sterile*. Compare Cicero's *Correspondence* (Tyrrell's and Purser's edition), Letter clxxxiv. (Att. v. 1), vol. iii. p. 8: "De

majesty and the sympathies of people and Senate all for him restrained himself from invective against the Vitellianist faction; charged the legions with ignorance rather than guilt; and spake not the name of Vitellius, either naturally, or because the composer of his oration was nervous and refrained from vituperating Vitellius; for, just as Suetonius Paulinus and Marius Celsus were his military experts, so Otho got credit for availing himself of the genius of Galerius Trachalus in civil administration. Nay, some detected the orator's peculiar style, famed in his great practice at the Bar, as florid¹ and full for popular effect. The acclamations of the crowd were, as is all flattery, fulsome and lying. They vied in enthusiastic Godspeeds, as if escorting the Dictator Cæsar or the Emperor Augustus, not through fear or affection, but with morbid servility,² while their slavish instincts prompted self alone and scorned the public weal. Otho, departing, left the peace of Rome and cares of empire to his brother Salvius Titianus.

Oppio factum est ut volui et maxime, quod DCCC. aperuisti: *quæ quidem ego utique vel versura facta solvi volo, ne extrema exactio nostrorum nominum expectetur*," where the learned editors translate the italicized passage: "I would willingly borrow to pay this debt rather than keep Cæsar waiting until the last penny due to me is gotten in."

¹ *Latum*. The florid as opposed to the severe style, or *adstricta oratio*. "Nam ut Stoicorum *adstrictior est oratio*," says Cicero, *Brutus*, § 120. *Latum* is well translated by the German *breitströmend*, and the French *abondant*. *Trachalus* appears to have been a kind of Roman Keogh or Whiteside. Quintilian, x. l. 119, thus describes him: "Nam et *vocis, quantam in nullo cognovi, felicitas et pronuntiatio vel scænis suffectura et decor, omnia denique ei, quæ sunt extra, superfuerunt*."

² *Sed ex libidine servitii*; "Perversa ad servitium propensione" (Meiser). Louandre translates, "entraînement pour la servitude."

THE HISTORY OF CORNELIUS TACITUS.
BOOK II.

BOOK II.

I. FAR away¹ Fortune was already founding a dynasty chequered, with joy or sorrow for the commonwealth, with happiness or doom for its princely scions.² Titus The Flavian dynasty. Titus, journeying towards Rome, stops at Corinth on hearing of Galba's death. Vespasian was sent from Judæa by his father during Galba's reign, avowedly for homage to that prince and the career of youth's early promise; yet society, bent on lying, had whispered that it was for imperial adoption. Galba's age and childlessness and Rome's indiscreet forecasts, pending definite selection, furnished food for gossip, which waxed on Titus' limitless range of genius,³ his beauty and dignity, the success of Vespasian, the prophecies,⁴ and the credulous tendency to read omens in passing events. At Corinth, in Achaia, Titus, accurately apprised of Galba's death and hearing that Vitellius was in the field, became anxious, and, summoning a few friends, surveyed the entire situation: "My journey to Rome means no thanks for a visit of ceremony originally undertaken as a compliment to another prince,⁵ and Vitellius or Otho may hold me hostage. My return will doubtless slight the victor. But who is he? Moreover, my father's

¹ In *Judæa*. For the combination of poetic colouring with philosophic method Tacitus stands alone. Of moderns his best imitator is Gibbon. Of course I am speaking of historians.

² The joy and happiness were for Vespasian and Titus; the sorrow and the doom for the tyrant Domitian, already suspected by Vespasian and saved by the intercession of Titus. Compare Scott, *Introd. to Canto iii. of Marmion*, "Life's chequer'd scene of joy and sorrow."

³ *Quantæcumque fortunæ capax*. Compare Book I. cap. xlix., *ante*, where Galba is so differently described as *capax imperii nisi imperasset*.

⁴ *Præsaga responsa*. The so-called prophecy or lucky guess of the Jew Josephus established him in the favour of Vespasian.

⁵ *Nullam officiû gratiam in alterius honorem suscepti*. L. Spengel appositely cites the bitter sarcasm of Napoleon to the Prussian minister at Vienna after Austerlitz: "*Voilà un compliment dont la fortune a changé l'adresse !*"

political adhesion will excuse me. But if Vespasian be an aspirant, then warlike thoughts must not heed offence."

II. Thus he wavered 'twixt hope and fear, but hope prevailed.

Queen Berenice.
Titus visits the
temple of the
Paphian Venus
at Cyprus.

Some believed he returned smitten by Queen Berenice,¹ who doubtless captivated his youthful affections, but thwarted not the activities of his life.

Youth's pleasures swayed him more as heir than emperor. So, coasting along Achaia and Asia Minor,² he made for Rhodes and Cyprus, and thence by open sea³ to Syria. Forthwith he longed to visit the temple of the Paphian Venus,⁴ famous at home and abroad. Without tediousness I may briefly describe the cult's origin, the temple's ceremonial, and the unique form of the goddess.

III. The legendary founder of the shrine was King Aërias,⁵ a name sometimes attributed to the goddess herself.⁶ Later tradition tells the dedication was by Cinyras,⁷ and that the foam-

¹ The beautiful Queen Berenice was great-granddaughter of Herod the Great, granddaughter of Aristobulus and Berenice, daughter of Agrippa Major, and sister of Agrippa Minor, the last King of Judæa. Beyond all question Titus was deeply devoted to her, and she twice visited Rome to meet him. However, the indignation of the Roman people saved Titus from the Eastern siren, and public opinion forced him to dismiss her from Rome. In the Acts of the Apostles we read (xxv. 13), "And after certain days King Agrippa and Berenice came unto Cæsarea to salute Festus." It was before this same Agrippa Minor that St. Paul delivered his immortal Apologia (Acts xxvi.), and drew from Agrippa those memorable words, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian" (Acts xxvi. 28).

² *Oram Achaïæ et Asiæ ac læva maris prævectus*. Skirting along the coast of Attica and Eubœa, he then sailed across to Asia Minor, and, in making thence for Rhodes, Cyprus, and Syria, he would have the coast of Asia Minor on his left. Thus *læva maris* means nothing more than the coast waters of Asia Minor.

³ *Audentioribus spatiis*, "by open sea." Duebner observes, "Nimirum in mari aperto navigans, quæ audacia esse videbatur veteribus, oram ut plurimum legentibus."

⁴ So called from Paphus, a city in the island of Cyprus.

⁵ Compare *Annals*, iii. 62: "Exim Cyprii tribus de delubris, quorum vetustissimum Paphiæ Veneri auctor Aërias, post filius ejus Amathus Veneri Amathusiæ et Jovi Salaminio Teucer, Telamonis patris ira profugus, posuissent."

⁶ Heræus refers to Hesychius: 'Αερία καὶ Κύπρον οὕτω ἐκάλουν.

⁷ Cinyras was son of Apollo, and is commemorated by Homer, *Iliad*, xi. 19, et seq.:

Δεύτερον αὖ θώρηκα περὶ στήθεσσιν ἔδυνεν,
τόν ποτέ οἱ Κινύρης δῶκε ξεινίον εἶναι.

Compare Pindar, *Pyth.*, ii. 24, et seq.:

Ἄλλοις δέ τις ἐτέλεσσεν ἄλλος ἀνὴρ
εὐαχέα βασιλεῦσιν ὕμνον, ἀποιν' ἀρετᾶς.
Κελαδέοντι μὲν ἄμφι Κινύραν πολλάκις

born¹ goddess floated thither, but that the Cilician Tamiras² had imported the soothsayer's craft,³ and, by compact, the scions of both houses filled the priesthoods. Afterwards, to mark the rank of the royal over the foreign stock, the strangers ceased to practise their own mystery, and a scion of Cinyras is sole priest. Victims are votive, but males are chosen, and the entrails of kids are full of prophetic import. Blood is forbidden upon the altars, hallowed by prayers and bloodless flame, unmoistened by rain, although in the open. The image of the goddess bears no human resemblance, but tapers from a circular base to a point like a cone. Its meaning is veiled in obscurity.⁴

The shrine of
the Paphian
Venus.
Her image.

IV. Titus, after viewing the costly gifts of kings and mythical subjects of Greek antiquarian enthusiasm,⁵ first put the question of his voyage, and, when answer came of clear and happy passage, then in dark phrases⁶ asked his own fortune amid lavish sacrificial offerings. When Sostratus (such the priest's name) saw the omens entirely favourable, and the goddess assenting to the momentous questions,⁷ he forthwith replied in brief formalities,

Titus consults
the Paphian
high priest, and
is informed of
his destiny.
Relative positions
of Vespasian and
Mucianus.

Φᾶμαι Κυπρίων, τὸν δ' χρυσοχαῖτα προφρόνως ἐφίλησ' Ἀπόλλων,
Ἱερέα κτίλον Ἀφροδίτας.

¹ Ἀφροδίτη—ποντογένεια—ἀναδυομένη.

² Heræus refers to Hesychius: Ταμिरάδαι—ἱερεῖς τινες ἐν Κύπρῳ.

³ *Scientiam artemque haruspicum*. The theory and practice of soothsayers, making up their trade, or, as I venture subsequently to translate *scientia*, their "mystery."

⁴ A fetich type of old-world cult. This so-called image was in all probability an aerolite venerated as a gift from Heaven. Quite similar (as Meiser observes) was the statue of Elagabalus, or the sun, at Emesa, in Syria. See Herodian, v. 3—5: *Δίος τις ἔστι μέγιστος, κάτωθεν περιφερής, λήγων δε δξύτητα κωνοειδὲς αὐτῷ σχῆμα, μέλανά τε ἡ χροιά διπετῇ τε αὐτὸν εἶναι σεμνολογοῦσιν*. "Hoc vero," says Meiser, "*videtur fuisse βαυτίλιον διπετὲς—Kegelförmiger Aërolith*"—a cone-shaped aerolite. On the other hand, Oberlein observes, "*Consuli merentur interpretes picturarum Herulanensium, quorum alii conum symbolum amoris esse, alii ad phallum pertinere arbitrantur*."

⁵ *Antiquitatibus*. "Ἀρχαιολογία," says Meiser, "*antiquis μύθοις atque historiis referendis; intelligit præsertim νεωκόρους, ædituos illos*" (like our modern, and I would add intolerable, atrocities of showmen), "*qui iter facientibus donaria templorum monstrabant eorumque origines et causas enarrabant*." Tacitus, no doubt, was "*vexatus toties rauci Theseide Codri*."

⁶ *Per ambages*. Titus was anxious to conceal his identity.

⁷ *Magnisque consultis*. The momentous questions. Tacitus again, in iv. 65, *post*,

and then, taking Titus aside, disclosed his destiny. Titus reached his father in great heart, and infused vast confidence into the anxious minds of provinces and armies.

Vespasian had almost concluded¹ the Jewish war, save the siege of Jerusalem—an enterprise rendered difficult by reason of the character of the mountain-fastness² and the obstinate superstition of the Jews, rather than the capacity of the besieged to endure extremities. Vespasian, as already mentioned, himself commanded three veteran legions;³ Mucianus ruled four in peaceful quarters,⁴ but rivalry for the neighbouring army's glory had fired them, and just as danger and difficulty had hardened the former, so unbroken repose and chagrin at inaction⁵ had invigorated the latter. Both generals had auxiliaries, horse and foot, fleets,⁶ royal allies,⁷ but their renown was of a distinctive type.

V. Vespasian, vigorous soldier, led his men, chose their camp, was ready day and night with his counsel and, if required, his sword, chanced his rations,⁸ and affected the garb and manner of a simple trooper; but for his avarice, quite a warrior of old. Mucianus, on the contrary, displayed a splendour of wealth altogether transcending a private station. He was a more accomplished conversationalist and skilful statesman.⁹

Rival portraits.
Vespasian and
Mucianus.

when describing Velleda, uses the technical *consulta responsaque*—the formal questions to, and answers from, the priestess.

¹ *Profligaverat*. Orelli appositely cites *Monumentum Ancyranum*, c. 20: "*Cœpta profligataque opera a patre meo perfeci.*" He also (*inter alia*) cites Livy, xxi. 40. 11: "*Bellum commissum ac profligatum conficere.*"

² *Ingenium montis*. The historian uses the singular to describe the four hills on which Jerusalem was built—the two minor hills, Acra, Bozetha; and the two greater hills, Zion and Moriah.

³ V. Macedonica, X. Fretensis, XV. Apollinaris (see *ante*, Book I. cap. x.).

⁴ III. Gallica, IV. Scythica, VI. Ferrata, XII. Fulminata (see *ante*, Book I. cap. x.).

⁵ *Inexpertī belli dolor*. So I read, with Meiser, for the MS. "*Inexpertī belli labor,*" which in his words produces "*præposterum δέδωκερον.*"

⁶ Off Pontus, Syria, and Egypt.

⁷ Antiochus of Commagene, Agrippa of Palestine, Sohæmus of Sophene.

⁸ *Cibo fortuito*, "chanced his rations." Meiser appositely observes, "Obvio, facile parabili, τῷ τυχεύοντι."

⁹ I venture emphatically to agree with Meiser that this charming portraiture of Tacitus points to Vespasian, as the soldier almost equal to the warrior of old; to Mucianus, as the brilliant politician, "*insignem πολιτικόν.*" Here I may mention

What a prince might be blended¹ from their combined unadulterated merits! Mucianus, governor of Syria, Vespasian, of Judæa, were at variance as neighbouring rival administrators, but, upon Nero's death, they became reconciled and worked harmoniously, first through friendly mediation, and then Titus, chief bond of union, had, by urging their self-interest, quickly eradicated unseemly bickerings; Titus, naturally and educationally framed to win the heart even of a Mucianus! Tribunes, centurions, and privates were now gained over by idiosyncratic appeals to their energy or profligacy, virtue or self-indulgence.

VI. Both armies had sworn allegiance to Otho before Titus' arrival, for news, as usual, travelled fast amid the ponderous movements of that civil war for which

The East slowly-
rouses itself for
war.

the East, after her profound repose, was then first preparing. Besides, the fiercest civic struggles of yore² had originated with the forces of the West in Italy or Gaul; and an untimely fate befell Pompeius, Cassius, Brutus, Anthony, with civil war in their trail across the sea. Syria and Judæa knew the names rather than the faces of the Cæsars.³ The legions were orderly and in sole and chequered⁴ conflict with the Parthian. During the recent civil war and commotion the East was undisturbed, and then proved loyal to Galba. Afterwards, when 'twas known that Otho and Vitellius were impiously struggling for imperial plunder, then lest, whilst others reaped imperial prizes, slavery's yoke alone might be their fate, the Eastern soldiery murmured and viewed their strength. At hand were seven legions,⁵ Syria,

that the phrase *aptior sermone* clearly means "a skilful or accomplished conversationalist." *Sermo* implies conversation more informal and unpretending than *oratio*. Thus Cicero, *Off.*, i. 37. 132: "Mollis est oratio philosophorum et umbratilis—Itaque *sermo potius quam oratio dicitur*." Thus Horace in *Carm.*, iii. 21. 9:

"Non ille, quamquam Socraticis madet
Sermonibus, te negleget horridus."

¹ *Egregium principatus temperamentum*, "what a prince might be blended!" I have tried to gain on the terseness of Tacitus by translating *demptis utriusque vitii* as "unadulterated."

² "Der Schwerpunkt der Macht lag für Pompeius, für die Partei des Brutus und Cassius und für Antonius im Westen" (Heræus).

³ "Quippe nullus ibi fuerat post Cæsarem Germanicum" (Orelli).

⁴ Compare *Annals*, xv. 27: *Multa Romanis secunda, quædam Parthis evenisse, documento adversus superbiam.*

⁵ As already mentioned in cap. iv., *ante*, where see note.

Judæa, and vast auxiliary forces. On this side adjoined Egypt and two legions;¹ on that, Cappadocia, Pontus, and the Armenian frontier forts. They had Asia and the remaining Eastern provinces, both powerful and wealthy, the Mediterranean islands, and the Mediterranean itself, useful for military preparations and safe from attack.

VII. The generals observed the military enthusiasm, but determined to bide their time while others fought. In civil war,² they said, victors and vanquished were ever in a quicksand³ of treachery. It mattered not who won, Vitellius or Otho. Success begat insolence,⁴ even in great generals. Here was nought but discord, cowardice, effeminacy;⁵ and inherent vice would destroy victor and vanquished alike. Accordingly, a waiting game was resolved upon by Vespasian and Mucianus now in concert with their experienced staff. The best were patriots, many mere freebooters, others desperadoes. So good and bad for different reasons all equally yearned for war.

VIII. About this time Achaia and Asia were scared by a sham Nero,⁶ as the accounts of Nero's death varied, and con-

¹ XXII. Deiotariana and III. Cyrenaica. Cæsar had originally left three legions in Egypt, which were maintained there also by Augustus; and it was only in the ninth year of his reign that Tiberius removed one legion, and thus Tacitus in *Annals*, iv. 5: "Cetera Africæ per duas legiones parique numero Egyptus."

² *Bello civili victores victosque numquam solida fide coalescere*. I adopt the emendation of Heinisch, followed and approved of by Heraeus, for the hopelessly mutilated *bellū cū In* of the Medicean MS. And for once I am unable to accept the proposed correction of Meiser (ed. new Orelli), "*bellum ruere in victores victosque, numquam solida fide coalescere*." Even if it could be proved that Tacitus wrote this, then Tacitus would be jejune. Moreover, the emendation of Heinisch evokes admirable meaning and point with the least violence to or disturbance of the MS. words. I therefore cannot agree with Meiser, *pæce tanti viri*, sed "quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus."

³ *Numquam solida fide coalescere*. They never can get a footing on the solid ground of good faith and honour, but were ever in a quicksand of treachery.

⁴ *Insolescere*, "to grow insolent." Compare Sallust, *Cat.*, vi., *sub fin*, "Eo modo minime posse putabant per licentiam insolescere animum humanum."

⁵ *Discordiam his, ignaviam, luxuriam*. Such the reading of the MS. defended by Meiser, and in my judgment full of meaning, and therefore not to be departed from, as *his* means *Otho and Vitellius*. Madvig, followed by Heraeus, emends thus: "*Discordia militis, ignavia, luxuria et suismet vitiiis alterum bello, alterum victoria periturum*." As the MS. reading has quite as good a meaning, I prefer, with Meiser, to adhere to it.

⁶ *Falso exterritis, velut Nero adventaret*. There were two other pseudo-Nerones:

sequently many either pretended or believed he was alive. The adventures and attempts of the remaining impostors we will narrate in the progress¹ of this history. This A sham Nero. pretender was a slave from Pontus, or, according to others, an Italian freedman and an accomplished harpist and singer, all the more plausible for that in addition to his personal resemblance. Banding some deserters—needy tramps—whom he had bribed by extravagant promises, he embarked. Driven by a gale to the island of Thermia,² he enrolled some soldiers on furlough³ from the East, executed others who were recalcitrant, plundered the merchants, and armed the strongest slaves. Moreover, he elaborately attempted to lure the centurion Sisenna, the bearer of clasped right hands,⁴ tokens of friendship, from the Syrian Army to the Prætorians, until Sisenna, nervous and apprehensive of violence, secretly fled the island. Thence widespread panic. The famous name roused many revolutionists who hated existing conditions. A chance shattered the story as it daily gathered force.

IX. Calpurnius Asprenas, appointed by Galba Governor of Galatia and Pamphylia, was furnished from the fleet Death of the pretender. of Misenum with two triremes for pursuit, wherewith he reached the island of Thermia, where the ship-captains were challenged in Nero's name. The pretender, wearing a dejected look, invoked the loyalty of old comrades, whom he prayed to land him in Syria or Egypt. The captains, either through weakness or design, declared they would first address and square⁵ their soldiers, and then return. But Asprenas was

one under Domitian, A.D. 88—A.U.C. 841; another, an Asiatic named Terentius Maximus, under Titus (*Zonaras*, p. 578). Orelli refers to Dio Chrysost., *Orat.*, xxi. p. 300, ed. L. Dindorf: Νέρωνά γε καὶ νῦν ἔτι πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦσι ζῆν· οἱ δὲ πλείστοι καὶ οἴονται, καί περ τρόπον τινα οὐχ ἄπαξ αὐτοῦ τεθνηκότες, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις μετὰ τῶν σφόδρα οἰθηθέντων αὐτὸν ζῆν. From the earliest Christian times there was a tradition that Nero would come again to precede Antichrist (Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.*, ii. 28. 1; Lactantius, *De Mort. Persecut.*, ii.). This is still (according to Orelli) the view of interpreters of the Apocalypse, xiii. 11: "*Cujus numerus est hominis numerus et quidem DCLXVI.*"

¹ Alas! those portions of the precious history are lost.

² *Cythus*. The modern Thermia, one of the western Cyclades.

³ *Commeantium*, "on furlough"—*commeatus*.

⁴ See Book I. cap. liv., *ante*, and note.

⁵ *Paratis omnium animis*. Our English word "square" is the briefest way of translating the methods of *finesse*.

loyally apprised of everything, and, at his command, the ship was boarded and the nameless impostor slain. The head,¹ with its characteristic eyes,² hair, and wild face, was conveyed to Asia and thence to Rome.

X. In a state convulsed and, through frequent imperial changes, oscillating 'twixt liberty and licence, mere trifles involved great commotions. Vibius Crispus,³ illustrious for wealth, power, genius, rather than virtue, impeached⁴ before the Senate Annii Faustus, a knight and professional informer during Nero's reign. For recently⁵ during Galba's reign the Senate had resolved upon an impeachment of the informers. That senatorial decree swerved about,⁶ passive or active, as the accused happened to be influential or helpless, and was still a source of terror. Crispus, too, had exerted all his personal influence to crush his brother's betrayer, and had induced a great majority of senators to demand his execution undefended and unheard. But the very influence of the prosecutor chiefly enlisted sympathy for the accused. "Give

Vibius Crispus impeaches the informer, Annii Faustus, who is condemned.

¹ Few critics will hesitate to adopt the emendation of Wurm, substituting *caput* for the jejune and vapid *corpus* of the MS. I am astonished that so acute a critic as Meiser (ed. new Orelli) could have hesitated, and I observe that Carolus Halm adopts this obvious reading, accepted by Heraeus without even a reference to the MS. The reasons set forth by Meiser for sticking to *corpus* will not hold water: "Ceterum probabilem Wurmii emendationem in textum recipere nolui, quia verbum *pervectum* est magis ad subjectum *corpus* quam *caput* spectare videtur." I should have thought the very opposite. The verb *pervehere* indicates all the care required for the transit of a traitor's head even more than of his body.

² *Insigne oculis comaque et torvitate vultus*. Suetonius (*Nero*, li.) describes Nero as "*oculis cæcis et hebetioribus*," that is, with eyes of a bluish grey, and rather dull or heavy. The observant as well as the artistic must be familiar with the Nero type of face—rather handsome, but always cruel.

³ Juvenal, iv. 81, *et seq.*, draws a less severe sketch:

". . . venit et Crispi jucunda senectus,
Cujus erant mores qualis facundia, mite
Ingenium . . .
Ille igitur nunquam direxit brachia contra
Torrentem, nec civis erat, qui libera posset
Verba animi proferre et vitam impendere vero."

⁴ Impeachments before the Senate had become a recognized constitutional process since the reign of Augustus.

⁵ I adhere to the adverbial *recens* of the Medicean MS., followed by Meiser. Most editors, however, have adopted Nipperdey's emendation, *recenti*. I may say, with Meiser, "Non ausus sum Medicei scripturam mutare."

⁶ *Varie jactatum*. Swerved about, was tossed about by different constructions and systems of application—*diversement exécuté* (Louandre).

time," they said; "specify your charges; the more odious the criminal, the more constitutionally entitled to a hearing." This view prevailed at first, and the impeachment was postponed for a few days. Then Faustus was condemned, but with none of that public unanimity which his infamous character deserved. For men remembered Crispus himself as just the same kind of paid informer, and were wroth, not with the penalty, but with the prosecutor.

XI. Meanwhile war opened auspiciously for Otho, as the hosts of Dalmatia and Pannonia marched at his beck. The four legions furnished an advance-guard of two thousand men each, the main body following at moderate intervals; Galba's own Seventh,¹ the veteran Eleventh² and Thirteenth³ and the Fourteenth,⁴ conspicuous as vanquishers of British rebels.⁵ As Nero's crack corps their reputation had been enhanced, whence their stubborn loyalty towards Nero and enthusiasm for Otho. But confidence in their vigorous strength engendered a proportionate sluggishness. The auxiliary horse and foot preceded the body of the legions. Rome too furnished no despicable contingent—five Prætorian cohorts, Prætorian cavalry detachments,⁶ the First Legion,⁷ and the hideous adjunct of two thousand gladiators—a force, however, utilized in civil wars even by rigid martinets. Heading these forces, Annius Gallus was sent forward with Vestricius Spurinna to seize both banks of the Po,⁸ as the original design⁹ had fallen through, for Cæcina, whom Otho had hoped to check in Gaul, was already past the

Otho's forces.
Annius Gallus
sent forward to
seize both banks
of the Po.
Otho's vigour.

¹ VII. Galbiana.

² XI. Claudia.

³ XIII. Gemina.

⁴ Gemina Martia Victrix.

⁵ *Rebellione Britannicæ compressa*, under Suetonius Paulinus, A.D. 61 (see *Annals*, xiv. 29; *Agricola*, xv.).

⁶ *Equitum vexilla, scilicet Prætorianorum.*

⁷ Prima Adjutrix Classicorum.

⁸ The south bank of the Po should be seized to stop the legions of Vitellius who were coming from the north to cross over it; and the northern bank, to enable the Dalmatian and Pannonian legions to effect a juncture, free from molestation, with the rest of Otho's army.

⁹ The original design contemplated (see Book I. cap. lxxxvii., *ante*) a joint attack by land and sea on Gallia Narbonensis. Now that Cæcina was past the Alps, a naval attack in that quarter alone remained feasible (see Book I. cap. lxxxvii., *ante*).

Alps. Otho followed with his *corps d'élite*¹ of lifeguards, the remaining Prætorian detachments, the Veteran² Prætorians, and a vast number of marines. No sluggard now was Otho, nor *roué* on the march, but, cased in iron cuirass, he led the standards afoot, grim, unkempt,³ the very converse of rumour's portrait.

XII. Fortune smiled upon his onset, and his fleet swayed great part of Italy even to the very foot of the Maritime Alps.⁴ He had entrusted Suedius Clemens, Antonius Novellus, and Æmilius Pacensis with the task of forcing this mountain pass and attacking Gallia Narbonensis. But Pacensis was a prisoner in the hands of mutineers, Antonius Novellus was powerless, and Suedius Clemens, a mere intriguer, was as eager for battle as dissolute in the relaxation of discipline. He seemed a stranger amid the native homes⁵ of Italy. As if against foreign shores and hostile cities, he burnt, ravaged, plundered, with ruthless swoop on his unwary quarry. Full the fields and open the homesteads, as the greeting farmers with wives and children, lulled in peace, were encircled with war's horrors.⁶ Marius Maturus was then procurator of the Maritime Alps. Heading the natives, vigorous and populous enough, he strove to drive the Othonianists from the border, but, at first charge,

Otho's fleet
commands the
greater part of
Italy.
Barbarities of
Suedius Clemens
in the Maritime
Alps.

¹ *Speculatorum lecta corpora*. A *corps d'élite* of lifeguards. The English language has no exact equivalent for the French *corps d'élite* or *lecta corpora*.

² *Veterani e Prætorio*. Discharged Prætorian veterans liable for service on emergency.

³ Juvenal draws a different picture, ii. 102:

"Res memoranda novis *Annalibus* atque recenti

Historia, *speculum* civilis sarcina belli."

The allusion to both *Annals* and *History* might have been one of Juvenal's grim hints to his great contemporary Tacitus.

⁴ Mr. Spooner's geographical note is instructive. He rightly observes that the Maritime Alps were strictly outside Italy, and were constituted a separate province under a procurator by Augustus in B.C. 14. This province comprised the district round the Var, and separated Italy from Gallia Narbonensis.

⁵ *Loca sedesque*. "Synonyma junxit, quo lector aliquanto dintius immoraretur in miserabili hac imagine Italiæ ab ipsis Italis depopulatæ" (Meiser).

⁶ *Securitate pacis et belli malo circumveniebantur*. "Zeugna quoddam statuendum est; nam hoc dicere vult; *securitate pacis* utebantur *et belli malo* circumveniebantur" (Meiser). Compare *Annals*, iv. 74: "*Gratiam aut fastus janitorum perpetiebantur*."

the mountaineers were cleft and scattered; for, banded at random, they knew neither camp nor general, and saw no glory in victory, no degradation in defeat.

XIII. Nettled by that conflict, Otho's soldiers turned their fury on the town of Ventimiglia.¹ For open fighting meant no plunder from poor rustics and worthless arms. Moreover, the natives, nimble and versed in the locality, defied capture. But the destruction of the innocent sated a greed branded by the lustrous courage of a Ligurian woman, who concealed her son, and, when racked by the gold-ravening troopers to show his hiding-place, gave answer, "Here,"² pointing to her womb; nor did that glorious utterance ever waver under death's terrors.

Otho's soldiers
sack Ventimiglia.
Heroism of a
Ligurian woman.

XIV. Anxious messengers apprised Fabius Valens that Otho's fleet threatened Gallia Narbonensis, plighted to Vitellius. Behind them came the colonial³ envoys praying for aid. Valens sent forward two Tungrian⁴ cohorts, four troops of cavalry, and the entire squadron of the horse of Trèves under Julius Classicus. Some of these forces

General engagement near
Ventimiglia and
Fréjus.
Complete defeat
of the Vitellianists.

¹ *Albintimilium*. Contracted from *Albium Intemelium*, the *Ἀλβιον Ἰντερμήλιον* of Strabo, the modern Ventimiglia, a town of Liguria. It was in this incursion that the mother of Agricola, father-in-law of Tacitus, was slain. *Agricola*, vii.: "Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domumque ejus adfixit. Nam classis Othoniana licenter vaga dum *Intimilios* (Liguriæ pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem *Agricolæ* in prædiis suis interfecit prædiaque ipsa et magnam patrimonii partem diripuit, quæ causa cædis fuerat. Igitur ad solemnna pietatis profectus Agricola nuntio adfectati a Vespasiano imperii deprehensus ac statim in partes transgressus est."

² *Latère* is clearly the word, and not *latère*. The soldiers asked her where he was hiding—*latère*? She, pointing to her womb, *uterum ostendens*, replied, "(Ibi) *latère*." The words *ibi* or *in ventre* must be inferred, but the inference of the adverb of place is found sufficient even in modern poetry. Meiser instances Schiller's poem, "*Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer*:"

"Und grinsend zerren sie den Mund
Und deuten in des Ofens Schlund:
Der ist besorgt und auf gehoben,
Der Graf wird seine Diener loben."

³ There were numerous colonies in Gallia Narbonensis: Aix (*Aquæ Sextiæ*), Narbonne (*Narbo Martius*), Fréjus (*Forum Julii*), Arles (*Arelate*), Beziers (*Bæterræ*), Orange (*Araustio*), Valence (*Valentia*), Vienne (*Vienna*). I am indebted for this accurate list of modern and ancient names to Dr. Heræus.

⁴ *Tungri*. The modern Belgian province of Lüttich, comprising Spa; Pliny's *Fons Tugrurorum*.

were kept at Fréjus,¹ lest Otho's fleet might sweep the coast unopposed by troops all marched inland. Twelve troops of cavalry and some detachments of infantry, supported by a Ligurian cohort, an ancient local force, and five hundred unattached Pannonians, advanced against the enemy. The engagement ensued forthwith,² and Otho's³ order of battle stationed some of the marines, with a sprinkling of rustics, up along the hill-slopes⁴ adjoining the sea, covered the level ground 'twixt hills and shore with the Prætorians, while his fleet, moored and cleared for action, swept the coast-line with threatening bows turned shorewards.⁵ The Vitellianists, weak in infantry, strong in cavalry, posted the mountaineers on the neighbouring heights, and their infantry in close order behind the cavalry. The Trèves cavalry charged the enemy incautiously, surprised⁶ in front by veteran Prætorians,⁷ harassed on the flanks by showers of stones, adroitly hurled even by the rustics, who, sprinkled through the regulars, were all, brave and coward alike, equally spirited in victory. Panic supervened on dismay when the fleet attacked the rear. Thus the entire Vitellianist force would have been hemmed in and annihilated, had not the darkness of night checked the victorious army and sheltered the fugitives.

XV. The Vitellianists, however, did not subside under defeat. Summoning reinforcements,⁸ they attacked the foe, confident and careless through success. They slew the outposts, forced the camp, created a

The Vitellianists
renew the attack,
and are again
defeated.

¹ The colony of *Forum Julii*, occupying a commanding naval position.

² I read, with Fr. Thomas, "*nec mora prælio et acies ita instructa*," for the "*nec mora prælio sed acies ita instructa*" of the Medicean MS., and am glad to find Hærsæus approves this.

³ *Acies*. Of course, *Othoniana* must be understood.

⁴ *In colles mari propinquos exsurget*. That is, up along the slopes, rank over rank.

⁵ *Conversa et minaci fronte*. The converse of the usual position, where the bows faced seawards.

⁶ *Cum exciperet contra*. Compare Horace, *Carm.*, iii. 12. 11. :

" . . . celer arto latitantem
Fruticeto excipere aprum."

⁷ *Veteranus miles*; sc. *Prætorianus*.

⁸ From *Fréjus* (*Forum Julii*), where, as we have seen in the last chapter, they had been left for emergencies.

naval panic, until, with the subsidence of alarm, the Othonianists,¹ sheltered by an adjoining hill, soon assumed the offensive. Dreadful carnage ensued, and the captains of the Tungrian cohorts, with their ranks long serried, fell at last, riddled with wounds. Nor had the Othonianists a bloodless victory, as the enemy's cavalry wheeled and surrounded those engaged in rash pursuit. Then, under a tacit truce against retaliatory naval or cavalry raids, the Vitellianists fell back on Antibes,² a town of Gallia Narbonensis, and the Othonianists returned to Albenga³ in inner Liguria.

XVI. The fame of the victorious fleet secured for Otho the loyalty of Corsica, Sardinia, and the adjoining islands. But Corsica was all but ruined by its procurator, Decumus Pacarius, whose rashness, powerless to sway the issues of the mighty war,⁴ proved fatal to himself. Hating Otho, he resolved to array Corsica for Vitellius, an aid abortive even in success. He summoned the chief residents and disclosed his design; and when Claudius Pyrrhicus, captain of the Liburnian galleys⁵ there, and Quintus Certus, Roman knight, gainsaid him, he sentenced them to death. The spectators, quailing at their fate, the ignorant multitude, contagiously apprehensive, all swore allegiance to Vitellius. But when Pacarius began to recruit and weary the undisciplined with drill, they loathed the irksome work and bethought them of their helplessness. "We are only islanders. Germany and its mighty legions are afar. Even those guarded by horse and foot were harried and plundered by the fleet." So they rapidly veered, but furtively, and gauged the moment

Decumus Pacarius seeks to win Sardinia for Vitellius, but is assassinated by the natives.

¹ *Donec sidente paulatim metu, occupato juxta colle defensi, mox irrupere.* Out of this context we have to spell the offensive resumption of hostilities by the Othonianists. Any writer but Tacitus, or possibly Thucydides, would have made the passage clear by the word *Othoniani*.

² *Antipolis.* The modern Antibes, a Marseilles colony, founded B.C. 340.

³ *Albigaunum.* The modern Albenga, an island town of Liguria.

⁴ *Tanta mole belli nihil in summam profutura.* Compare *Annals*, xiii. 38: "Nihil in summam pacis proficiebatur;" Livy, xxxi. 37: "In summam etiam belli profectum foret."

⁵ Compare Horace, *Epos.* :

"Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
Amice, propugnacula."

for their treachery. For when his many visitors had left ¹ Pacarius, they slew him naked and helpless in his bath.² His retinue was likewise massacred, and the assassins bore the heads, as of enemies, to Otho, who gave them no reward; nor did Vitellius punish them, lost as they were 'mid the scum of greater crimes.

XVII. Silius' horse, as already mentioned,³ had opened Italy, new battle-ground, where universal hatred towards Otho meant no preference for Vitellius, for prolonged peace had moulded to the hand of the first comer slaves blind to hope of better things. The garden of Italy, the plains and cities 'twixt the Po and Alps, was already the guerdon of Vitellius' and Cæcina's vanguard. A Pannonian cohort had been captured at Cremona;⁴ a hundred horse and a thousand marines cut off between Piacenza⁵ and Padua.⁶ The river and its banks no longer restrained the elated Vitellianists. Nay, Batavians and Rhine-borderers chafed⁷ at the barrier stream, suddenly swam it, attacked Piacenza, seized some scouts, and so terrified all others, that lying panic told all Cæcina's army was at hand.

XVIII. Spurinna, commander at Piacenza, knew⁸ Cæcina

Transpadane
Italy in the
hands of the
Vitellianists.
Some Batavians
and Germans
cross the Po.

¹ *Digressis qui Pacarium frequentabant.* A kind of *levée* held by the governor.

² *Balinea*, "in his bath." So Nipperdey, Meiser, Dräger, who justify the omission of the preposition *in*. Heræus, Spooner, Godley, and others, take it as a temporal ablative on the analogy of *comitiis, ludis, gladiatoribus*, at bath-time—"zur zeit des Bades." But the omission of the preposition *in* is quite Tacitean, and the meaning is far more dramatic. Like Marat, the scoundrel was actually caught in his bath.

³ See Book I. cap. lxx., *ante*.

⁴ Meiser here cites the comment of Burnouf, which is worth reproducing: "On peut se figurer l'armée d'Othon comme échelonnée sur la ligne de Modène, Plaisance, Crémone, Bédriac; Vérone donnant la main aux provinces Illyriques. On voit que les Vitelliens opéraient déjà sur le flanc des Othoniens."

⁵ *Placentia*.

⁶ *Ticinum*.

⁷ *Irritabat*. "Der Strom lockte die Bataver, ihre Schwimmkünste zu zeigen" (Heræus). Compare Book IV. xii., *post*, "Erant et domi delectus eques, præcipuo nam studio arma equosque retinens integris turmis Rhenum perrumpere."

⁸ *Certum erat* is here used in a double sense. In its first application it signifies "knew" or "was apprised;" in its second, it means "resolved" or "determined upon." So Meiser: "*Duplici sensu positum est; prius significat certo sciebat, tum decreverat.*"

and left **was** not at hand, and determined, on his approach, to keep his
 bathmen within the fortifications, and not expose three <sup>Insubordination
 of Spurrinna's
 men at Piacenza.</sup> **Prætorian** cohorts, a thousand unattached ¹ infantry,
 and a few cavalry to a veteran army. But the wild, raw recruits
 rushed on with standards and colours, brandished swords 'gainst
 their general's remonstrances, and spurned their centurions and
 tribunes. Nay, they make charges of the betrayal of Otho and
 of overtures to Cæcina. Spurrinna, first 'gainst his grain, then
 feigned voluntary participation in others' rash adventure, the
 more to gain prestige should order be restored.

XIX. When the Po was out of sight ² and night falling, an en-
 trenced encampment was ordered. This toil, foreign <sup>Spurrinna re-
 stores discipline.</sup> to the city soldiery, cowed their spirits. Then every
 veteran upbraided his own credulity, and pointed to the fearful
 risk should Cæcina, in the open plain, encircle their few companies
 with his army. Already subdued language pervaded the camp,
 and, as centurions and tribunes intervened, the general's wisdom
 was commended for selecting a powerful and resourceful colony
 as a fortified basis ³ for his operations. Finally Spurrinna him-
 self, adopting a tone of argument rather than censure, left scouts
 behind and marched the rest back to Piacenza, subdued and
 amenable to discipline. Walls were strengthened, battlements ⁴
 multiplied, towers elevated, and forethought taken, not for arms
 merely, but for loyalty and devoted obedience, wherein alone the
 Othonianists failed, for their valour was unimpeachable.⁵

¹ *Vexillarios* does not mean here "veterans," but an unattached portion of a
 legion or legions (possibly the Pannonian or Dalmatian legions, see cap. xi., *ante*), and
 therefore under a *vexillum*, as contradistinguished from the *signa* of the legionary
 maniples. Thus we have the full meaning of the text brought out, and are not
 committed to the absurdity of making Tacitus deprecate the danger of exposing
 "veterans" to "veterans."

² As Piacenza was on the Po, the reading of the Medicean MS., "*Postquam in con-
 spectu Padus*," is repugnant and absurd, for upon their departure the Po would
 gradually pass out of sight. Meiser has accordingly inserted the words *non jam*,
 and reads "*Postquam non jam in conspectu Padus*." This emendation has been finally
 approved by Heraeus, and is now universally recognized and adopted.

³ *Robur ac sedem bello* (ἐν δὲ δυνάμει). A fortified basis for his operations; "*zur festen
 Basis*" (Heraeus).

⁴ Compare Horace, *Epod.* :

"*This Liburnis inter alta navium,
 Amice, propugnacula.*"

⁵ For this use of *pænitere*, Heraeus appositely refers to Livy, viii. 23: "*Minime*
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XX. But Cæcina, as if his cruelty and licentiousness had been left behind the Alps, advanced through Italy in orderly array. The towns and colonies construed his dress as indicative of pride, for attired in parti-coloured plaid and breeks,¹ a foreign garb, he addressed the toga-clad citizens. But² at sight of his wife, Salonina, though harmlessly riding on a purple-caparisoned³ charger, they took personal umbrage, with innate tendency to watch bitterly⁴ a neighbour's recent luck and exact humility from none more than former equals. Cæcina crossed the Po, and, after mutual attempts to work treachery through parleys and promises, after the vain and idle names of Peace and Harmony had been shuttlecocked,⁵ concentrated, amid general consternation, his elaborate plans on the siege of Piacenza, for he knew his reputation depended on the success of his first stroke in the war.

Cæcina crosses
the Po and
approaches
Piacenza.

XXI. But the first day was spent in onslaughts unworthy of a veteran army's skill.⁶ Gorged and tipsy, they exposed themselves by a rash attack upon the walls, during which an amphitheatre of exquisite architectural design was burnt down, fired either by the besiegers, while hurling on the besieged torches, fire-balls,⁷ and flaming

pénitère se virum suarum, si bellum placeat;” also *Agricola*, xxxiii. : “*Neque vos ducis pénituit.*”

¹ *Bracas*, “breeches,” “breeks,” “trews.” Hence the French *braies*. *Gallia Narbonensis* was once called *Gallia Bracata*, from the dress of its inhabitants. Compare Cicero, *Fam.*, ix. 15. 2: “*Bracatis* et Transalpinis nationibus; and Cicero, *Pis.*, xxiii. 53: “*O Bracate cognationis dedecus!*” Juvenal, viii. 234:

“*Arma tamen vos*

*Nocturna et flammas domibus templisque parastis,
Ut Braccatorum pueri Senonumque minores,
Ansi quod liceat tunica punire molesta.*”

² *Autem*. Nowhere else used by Tacitus in narrative, apart from speeches, and therefore commented on by Nipperdey, and expunged by Haase and Heræus, who read *uzoremque*. I agree with Meiser, however, that the undoubted text of the Medicean MS. should not be disturbed.

³ I accept the emendation of Puteolanus, adopted by Meiser, “*insigni equo ostroque*,” the usual Tacitean *ἐν δὴν δυνὶν* for purple-caparisoned horse. Heræus and others follow the Medicean “*insignis equo ostroque*.”

⁴ *Acribus oculis intraspicere*, “they watched with bitter glance.” *Acer* from Sanscrit *açan* = dart. The qualities of sharpness, keenness, bitterness are all combined.

⁵ *Jactata*, “shuttlecocked,” “bandied about.” Compare Horace, *Epist.*, i. 11. 15: “*Nec si te validus jactaverit auster in alto.*”

⁶ *Veterani exercitus artibus*. “*Cautione ac prudentia*” (Meiser).

⁷ *Glandæ*, “fire-balls;” “*Glühkugel*” (Heræus). These were incandescent

missiles,¹ or by the besieged during their counter-volleys.² The citizens, suspiciously inclined, believed that neighbouring colonists, envious and jealous of the largest amphitheatre in Italy, had maliciously introduced combustibles for arson. However it happened, they made light of it amidst darker dangers; but, when safe, they mourned as over the direst of calamities. Cæcina, however, was repulsed with great slaughter, and the night was spent³ in elaborating siege-works. The Vitellianists constructed blinds, fascines, and pent-houses⁴ for undermining the walls and protecting the besiegers; the Othonianists prepared stakes and great masses of stones, lead, and copper for crushing the siege-works and overwhelming the enemy. Both shrank from defeat, both yearned for victory; the one had for incentive the legionary might and armies of Germany, the other, the lustre of Rome's service and her Prætorian guards;

iron balls hurled into the fortifications, and must be distinguished from the ordinary leaden *glandes*, or bullets, cast by slingers, many of which have been found on the plain of Marathon with inscriptions on them, such as ΔΕΞΑΙ, "ΤΑΚΕ ΤΗΝΑ." A vulgar error largely prevailed among the ancients, that these bullets heated and melted in their rapid passage through the air; as in Lucretius, vi. 177:

"Ut omnia motu
Percalefacta vides ardescere, plumbea vero
Glans etiam longo cursu volvenda liquescit."

Munro refers to Seneca, *Nat. Quæst.*, ii. 57. 2; Ovid, *Mét.*, xiv. 825; Lucan, vii. 513; Aristot., *De Cæl.*, ii. 7. See new edition of Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, vol. i. p. 884, tit. "Funda;" also new Orelli, *ad locum*.

¹ A graceful way of describing the *falarica*, or *phalarica*. See Livy, xxi. 8, where we read of a huge *falarica* or spear with an iron head three feet in length, carrying flaming pitch and tow, hurled by an engine. See new edition Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, vol. i. p. 937, tit. "Hasta."

² *Dum paria regerunt*. Meiser's emendation for the corrupt *reportans gerunt* of the Medicean MS. Heræus reads "*dum retro transigerunt*," return the fire across the amphitheatre; J. Gronovius reads "*retorta ingerunt*."

³ *Assumpta*, "spent;" the certain and universally accepted emendation of Muretus for the corrupt *assumpta* of the Medicean MS.

⁴ *Pluteos cratesque et vineas*, "blinds or mantlets, fascines, and pent-houses." Louandre translates "les mantelets, les claies, les galeries." The *plutei*, blinds or mantlets, were to form shelter in front. They were semicircular, of wickerwork covered with hides, but had no roof, and were rolled on three wheels—one in front, two behind—in front of the advancing besieging party. The *crates* were fascines or screens for sheltering the *flanks* or *sides* of the attacking party, and differed from the *plutei* in having no covering of raw hides. The *vineæ*—the *στροβία* of the Greeks—were pent-houses having the roof covered with hides to afford shelter from above. The sides were open. See new edition Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, subtitles "*Plutei*," "*Crates*," "*Vineæ*."

the one taunted the lazy, dissolute haunters of circus and theatre, the other scorned the foreigner and stranger; and, in their praise or censure of Otho and Vitellius, abundant recrimination rather than panegyric whetted their rivalry.

XXII. 'Twas barely daybreak when defenders crowded the walls, and the plains glistened with armed men;¹ the legions² in close order, with auxiliary skirmishers, showered arrows or stones against the battlements, while they tried to sap the ungarded or dilapidated portions. As the German cohorts advanced heedlessly, chanting wild snatches,³ traditionally armourless⁴ and brandishing their shields over their shoulders, the Othonianists sent volleys of javelins with more accurate⁵ and surer aim from above down upon them. The legionaries, protected by blinds and fascines,⁶ seek to sap the walls, lay a causeway,⁷ and force the gates. But the Prætorians hurl down with a crash enormous millstones arranged for the very purpose. Some of the assailants were buried alive, others were wounded, fainting, and mangled. When panic increased the carnage and wounds showered thicker from the walls, the assailants returned with impaired prestige. Cæcina, shamed at the abortive siege, not to loiter bootlessly and idly in the same position, recrossed the Po, and resolved to march on Cremona.⁸ On his departure, Turullius Cerialis⁹ with numerous marines

¹ Tacitus, who was so familiar with Vergil, is very fond of this *armis virisque*, like *arma virumque*.

² Cæcina had only one entire legion with him, the XXI. Rapax; but he had detachments from the IV. Macedonica and XXII. Primigenia. These detachments—*vezilla*, or *Fähnlein*—consisted of many thousands.

³ *Cantu truci*, "wild snatches." *The Song of the Bard*, as described in the *Germania*, iii.: "Sunt illis hæc quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem *barditum* vocant, accendunt animos, futuræque pugnæ fortunam ipso cantu augurantur." The wildness of the chant may be inferred from the subsequent words in the same chapter: "Affectatur præcipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur objectis ad os sentis, quo plenior et gravior vox repercussu intumescat."

⁴ *Nudis corporibus*, like the Greek *γυμνός*, here means, not naked, but unprotected, armourless.

⁵ *Librato magis et certo ictu*. Heræus compares Livy, xxx. 10: "Gravior ac pondere ipso *librator* superne ex onerariis ictus erat."

⁶ *Pluteis et cratibus tectus* (see preceding chapter, note 4).

⁷ *Instruit aggerem*, "lay a causeway." Compare iii. 20, *post*, and *Annals*, ii. 81.

⁸ Cremona was north of the Po, Piacenza (*Placentia*) was south of it; hence Cæcina should recross to attack the former city.

⁹ *Turullius Cerialis*. Nowhere else mentioned.

and Julius Briganticus¹ with a few horse surrendered to him. Julius was a Batavian and captain of horse; Turullius, a first-grade centurion, no stranger to Cæcina, as he had served under him in that capacity in Germany.

XXIII. When Spurinna learned the enemy's course, he informed Annius Gallus by letter that Piacenza was safe, as well as what had occurred, and of Cæcina's intentions. Gallus was leading the First Legion to the assistance of Piacenza, doubting that the few cohorts there could long stand the siege and power of the German army. When he heard of Cæcina's repulse and march towards Cremona, he reined in² with difficulty at Bedriacum³ the legion, furious for battle even to the point of mutiny. Bedriacum is a village between Verona and Cremona, ill-famed and unhallowed e'en now by two Roman disasters.⁴

Annus Gallus halts at Bedriacum. Marcius Macer defeats the Vitellianists near Cremona. Sinter spirit of the Othonianist soldiery.

¹ *Julius Briganticus*. The hated nephew of the immortal hero Civilis (iv. 70, *post*). He was slain fighting against his famous uncle (v. 21, *post*, where he is described as "fidum Romanis et Civili avunculo infensum").

² *Sistit*, "he reined in." Meiser here quotes Ferlet, whose words are well worth reproducing: "Gallus menait la première légion au secours de Plaisance (Piacenza) et il s'arrêta à Bédriac. Il venait donc de plus loin sur la route de Vérone. Mais pourquoi s'arrête-t-il dès qu'il apprend la levée du siège? Pour trois raisons: (1) ce siège étant levé, son objet était rempli; (2) restant à Bédriac, il était à même d'être joint plus promptement par les légions de l'Illyricum et par Othon, qui était resté plus loin pour les attendre; (3) il y aurait eu de la folie à aller se battre en rase campagne, et avec une légion qui n'avait pas encore vu l'ennemi, contre une armée des soldats vétérans. Ces raisons étaient solides et dignes de la maturité de jugement qui le caractérisait: *maturitatem Galli*, a dit Tacite, i. 87."

³ *Bedriacum*. Various spelt: by Suetonius, *Otho*, ix., *Betriacum*; by Plutarch, *Otho*, viii., *Βητριάκον*; by Josephus, i. 4; ix. 9, *Βηδριάκον*. Again, Juvenal, ii. 104, writes—

"Nimirum summi ducis est occidere Galbam
Et curare cutem, summi constantia civis
Bebriaci campo spoliū affectare Palati," κ.τ.λ.

The scholiast on Juvenal tells us that *Bedriacum*, or *Bebriacum*, was a village twenty miles from Cremona. Although the area is thus circumscribed, some contend it is the modern Canneto; others, la Bina; others, Ustiano; others, S. Lorenzo Guazzzone. Meiser, in his *First Excursus* to this book, sets forth the elaborate commentary of Burnouf and Mannert, who quote Ferlet, and thus sum up: "Ferlet, qui a discuté cette question avec soin et conscience, place *Bédriac* sur la rive gauche de l'Oglio, un peu au-delà de Bina, à peu près à l'endroit où est aujourd'hui Ustiano, et par conséquent très à l'ouest de Canneto. Si cette position n'est pas certaine, elle nous paraît au moins plus approcher de la véritable que celles de Canneto et de Cividale."

⁴ *Duabus jam Romanis cladibus notus infaustusque*. The defeat of Otho by Vitellius: the defeat of Vitellius by Vespasian. The defeat of Vitellius by Vespasian was not at Cremona, but between Cremona and Bedriacum.

At this time Marcius Macer won a battle near Cremona, for with characteristic resolution he shipped his gladiators across, and suddenly landed them on the north bank of the Po. The Vitellianist auxiliaries there were panic-stricken. Those who resisted perished, and the rest fled to Cremona. But the victors were reined in, lest the enemy might be reinforced and turn the fortune of the fray. This roused suspicion among the Othonianists—sinister critics of everything their generals did. All the cowards and brawlers vied with each other in sundry slanders 'gainst Annius Gallus, Suetonius Paulinus, Marius Celsus, and Otho's other¹ generals. Galba's assassins were the most virulent sedition-mongers. Rabid with guilty fear, they aimed at anarchy, now openly in revolutionary harangues, again through furtive missives to Otho, who, gulled by every caittiff and dreading good men, was in constant alarm—weak in prosperity, but chastened in adversity. He accordingly summoned his brother Titianus and made him commander-in-chief.

XXIV. Meanwhile Paulinus and Celsus² were brilliantly successful. Cæcina was heart-sore³ for enterprises all thwarted and his army's drooping reputation. Driven from Piacenza, his auxiliaries just cut down, routed even in scout-skirmishes and frays more numerous than notable,⁴ Cæcina, with more eagerness than wisdom, hastened to retrieve his fame, lest Fabius Valens, close at hand, should absorb all the glory of the war. Twelve miles from Cremona, at a place called "The Castors,"⁵ he formed an ambuscade of his most spirited auxiliaries in the woods abutting

Cæcina forms an ambuscade near Cremona. The secret is betrayed to the Othonianists.

¹ I read, with Meiser, "*aliosque quos Otho prefecerat*" for the Medicean *eos quos*, as otherwise the historian would exclude *Spurinna* and *Marcius Macer*.

² Annius Gallus had fallen from his horse, and was prevented by that accident from active service.

³ *Angabant*. From this verb *ango* is derived *angina*, so long associated with *angina pectoris*, a form of heart disease known to our forefathers under the false quantity of *angina pectoris*.

⁴ *Crebra magis quam digna memoratu prælia*. In apposition to *concursum exploratorum*.

⁵ *Castörum*, "The Castors;" that is, a temple of Castor and Pollux. Castor and Pollux were called indifferently *Polluces* or *Castöres*, as we are informed by Servius on Vergil, *Georg.*, iii. 89: "*Ambo licenter et Polluces et Castöres vocantur. Nam et Iudi et templum et stellæ Castörum appellantur.*" Heræus refers to Pliny's description of the temple in the *Circus Flaminius* as *Ædes Castörum*.

the road. The cavalry were ordered to advance, provoke a battle, feign retreat, and lure their pursuers to gallop into the snare. The secret was betrayed to the Othonianist generals, and Paulinus assumed command of the infantry, Celsus of the cavalry. A detachment of the Thirteenth Legion, four auxiliary cohorts, and five hundred cavalry were stationed on the left; three Prætorian cohorts occupied the raised causeway¹ in column formation; the First Legion marched forward² on the right wing with two auxiliary cohorts and five hundred cavalry; a thousand Prætorian and auxiliary cavalry formed a reserve to swell victory or avert defeat.

XXV. Before actual contact, the Vitellianists wheeled, and Celsus, aware of their strategem, held back his men.

The ambuscaded³ Vitellianists then rashly burst out, and, pressing too far after the gradually retreating Celsus, were actually⁴ themselves ensnared. For the auxiliary cohorts⁵ took them in flank, the

The ambuscaded Vitellianists hoist with their own petard. Delay of Suetonius Paulinus. The Vitellianists rally.

legionaries⁶ confronted them, and the cavalry by a rapid detour surrounded⁷ their rear! Suetonius Paulinus had not given the signal for battle immediately to the infantry. Naturally hesitant and approving of cautiously planned designs rather than gamblers' luck,⁸ he ordered the waterways⁹ to be filled, the

¹ *Aggerem viæ*, "the raised causeway." Compare Vergil, v. 273:

"Qualis sæpe viæ deprensus in *aggere* serpens."

Heræus well explains, "*Agger viæ* hiess der erhöhte mittlere Teil der Heerstrasse, der für den Verkehr zu Wagen bestimmt und mit glatten Steinen gepflastert war, welche auf einer oder mehreren Schichten von Grand, Bruchsteinen und festgestampfter Erde ruhten. Neben diesem Fahrdamm liefen zu beiden Seiten Fussessteige (*limites*)."² The road was the *Via Postumia* from Cremona to Verona.

² *Dextra fronte*. On the right wing in advance, by way of contrast to the reserve, *subsidiū*.

³ *Vitelliani temere exsurgentes scilicet ex insidiis* (Heræus); that is, "The ambuscaded Vitellianists rashly burst out."

⁴ *Utro*, "actually" (see my note, Book I. cap. vii., *ante*).

⁵ *Cohortes*. That is, the auxiliary cohorts on both wings.

⁶ *Legionum adversa frons*. There was only one entire legion (*Prima Adjutrix*), but there were also legionary detachments, hence the rather loose use of the plural *legionum*.

⁷ *Cinzerant*, "surrounded." *Cingo* has here a distributive meaning. No one force surrounded the Vitellianists, but the cohorts on the flanks, the legionaries in front, the cavalry detouring to the rear, together formed the cincture (*cinzerant*).

⁸ *Prospera ex casu*, "gamblers' luck." Compare Livy, xlii. 50: "*In aleam tanti casus se regnumque dare*."

⁹ Waterways (*fossæ*) for purposes of irrigation, used in Italy to this day. Compare Vergil, *Georg.*, i. 326:

ground cleared, his lines to deploy, believing there was time enough for victory after insurance 'gainst defeat. That respite gave the Vitellianists time to take shelter in the layer-matted vineyards;¹ besides a small wood adjoined, whence they ventured to re-sally and slew the foremost of the Prætorian cavalry. Prince² Epiphanes was wounded whilst gallantly rallying the fight for Otho.

XXVI. Then the Othonianist infantry charged;³ the enemy's lines were overwhelmed, and his reserves routed; for
Rout of the
Vitellianists. Cæcina had not advanced his cohorts together, but in detail, and that in mid-action increased the panic, as the terror-stricken fugitives bore away the thin reserves, feeble at every point. The camp, too, mutinied, because of no general advance; and Julius Gratus, prefect of the camp, was made prisoner on a charge of playing traitor in favour of his brother⁴ in Otho's service, while that same brother, Julius Fronto, tribune, had been similarly treated by the Othonianists on a like charge. But such the terror 'mongst fugitives, reserves, in the lines, in camp, that both parties generally believed Cæcina and his whole army could have been annihilated, had not Suetonius Paulinus sounded the recall. Paulinus pleaded fear of over-exertion in marching, lest the Vitellianist soldiery, fresh from camp, might

"Implentur fossæ et cava flumina crescunt
Cum sonitu fervetque fretis spirantibus æquor."

Again (*ibid.*, 371):

"Omnia plenis

Rura natant fossis."

¹ *In vineas nezu trādūcum impeditas*, "in the layer-matted vineyards." In Italy to this day the vines are often planted amongst other trees, and the vine-layers carried along from tree to tree; hence *nezu impeditas*, "matted."

² *Rex* here means "prince," just as *Rex Pacorus* in v. 9, *post*. His father Antiochus, King of Commagene, was alive at this time. The Greek βασιλεὺς has sometimes the same meaning.

³ *Eruptit*, "charged." Compare Vergil, *Æn.*, xi. 608:

"Jumque intra jactum teli progressus uterque
Substiterat: subito erumpunt clamore furentesque
Exhortantur equos: fundunt simul undique tela
Crebra nivis ritu cælumque obtexitur umbra."

⁴ *Tanquam fratri apud Othonem militanti proditionem ageret*. If we adhere to the MS. reading as above, then *fratri* must be taken as a *dativus commodi*, and translated as in the text. Orelli, however, suspected that the historian wrote *fratre . . . militante*. However, as the MS. reading bears a reasonable interpretation, it should not be changed.

attack his exhausted troops, who, if routed, would have no reserve support. The general's argument, approved of by a few, was publicly condemned.

XXVII. This blow sobered the Vitellianists rather than terrified them. Nor was this so only under Cæcina, who shifted the blame on to his soldiers as mutineers, not warriors; the troops of Fabius Valens likewise (already at Pavia¹), laid aside bravado towards the foe, yearned to retrieve their reputation, and obeyed their general with more respect and regularity.² A serious mutiny had, however, broken out, which I will now retrace, as I could not heretofore break the sequence of Cæcina's campaigns. We have already narrated³ how the Batavian cohorts, severed from the Fourteenth Legion during the Neronian war, had, on their way to Britain, upon hearing of the Vitellianist insurrection, joined Fabius Valens at Langres. They were defiant, and boasted in the several legionary quarters that they had cowed the Fourteenth Legion, torn Italy from Nero, and were masters of the entire military situation. This insulted the soldiery, and aggrieved⁴ the general, whose discipline was vitiated by brawls or blows.⁵ Finally Valens surmised treachery from their insolence.

XXVIII. Accordingly, upon news of the defeat of the Trèves horse and Tungrian infantry⁶ by Otho's fleet and the investment of Gallia Narbonensis, Valens, anxious at once to protect allies and, with military astuteness, to detach mutinous cohorts, too powerful in combination, ordered the Bavarian contingents to march thither as reserves. When this became known, the allies mourned and the legions growled: "We are bereft of gallant comrades, those veterans and victors of so many campaigns, filched from our lines with the enemy in sight. If a province be dearer than

Restoration of discipline in the armies of Cæcina and Valens. History of the mutiny of the Batavian cohorts.

Valens seeks to detach the mutinous Bavarian cohorts.

¹ *Ticinum*. The modern Pavia.

² *Æqualius*, with more regularity or uniformity. Compare Horace, *Sat.*, i. 3. 9 :
" Nil æquale homini fuit illi."

³ Book I. lix., lxiv., ante.

⁴ *Acerbum*. "*Kränkend, empfindlich, schmerzlich*" (Heræus).

⁵ *Jurgis aut rixis*, "brawls or blows." Compare Juvenal:

"Si rixa est ubi tu pulsas ego vapulo tantum."

⁶ See ii. 14, ante.

Rome and her empire's safety, let us all follow thither; but if Italy be¹ victory's mainstay,² let her not be dismembered of her strongest limbs."³

XXIX. Thus they raged, and, when Valens sought to repress the mutiny by the intervention of his lictors, they attacked, stoned, and pursued the general himself. Exclaiming that he was hiding the spoils of Gaul, the gold of Vienne,⁴ their guerdon, they rummaged his baggage, and with javelins and spears tested the framework⁵ and very ground of his tent. But⁶ Valens, disguised as a slave, was concealed by a captain of horse. Then Alfenus Varus, camp-prefect, when the mutiny flickered,⁷ suggested the device of forbidding the centurions to go the rounds and silencing the regular camp bugle-calls. All were paralyzed and gazed about in mutual dismay, distraught at the very absence of command. With silent resignation, then with prayers and tears, they besought pardon. But when Valens advanced, dishevelled, weeping, unexpectedly safe, then joy, compassion, sympathy

Narrow escape
of Valens.
Repentance of
the mutineers.

¹ *Verteretur* simply means "be." Compare Plautus, *Most.*, iii. 1. 109: "Jam homo in mercatura *vortitur*;" *ibid.*, *Merc.*, i. 2. 12: "*Res in periculo vortitur*;" Vergil, *Æn.*, xi. 683: "Ipse catervis *Vertitur* in mediis;" Livy, xxxvi. 7. 1: "Cum circa hanc consultationem disceptatio omnis *verteretur*."

² *Victoriæ columen*, "Victory's mainstay." The Medicean MS. has "*Victoriæ sanitas sustentaculum columen*." The astute and marvellously trained judgment of the famous scholar Nipperdey saw that the words *sanitas sustentaculum* were a gloss on *columen*, and he was right, although he never had absolute verification. It remained for Meiser, the brilliant editor of the new *Orelli*, to discover the author of the gloss, Luctatius Placidus (ed. *Deuerling*, p. 19. 1): "*Columen vel sanitas vel sustentaculum, quia a columna fit*." Meiser modestly observes, "Postquam *Nipperdey* sano iudicio ductus vocabula *sanitas sustentaculum* spuria iudicavit, jam mihi contigit, ut invenirem, unde hoc additamentum ortum esset." Another instance of a gloss creeping into the text is found in i. 89, *ante*: "*ancilium scutum vel arma cælestia*."

³ *Non abruptendos ut corpori validissimos artus*. Compare Ovid, *Trist.*, i. 3. 74: "Et pars *abrupti* corpore visa suo est."

⁴ Valens was suspected of having taken a bribe from the people of Vienne. See i. 66, *ante*:

"Sed fama constans fuit ipsum Valentem magna pecunia emptum."

⁵ Valens was wiser than poor Polonius behind the arras.

⁶ *Nam*, "but." *Nam* has here the force of *ἀλλὰ γὰρ* or *sed enim*, and affords a striking illustration of the extraordinary condensation of Tacitus. That one syllable *nam* implies "They effected nothing, for Valens lay concealed elsewhere in another tent, namely, the tent of a captain of horse."

⁷ *Deflagrante paulatim seditione*, "when the mutiny flickered." Sometimes the English language can be as brief as the Latin of Tacitus. Our word "flicker" contains the whole force of *deflagrante paulatim*.

supervened. Changing to gladness, with characteristic extravagance, amid praises and congratulations, they bore him, surrounded with the eagles and standards,¹ to the tribunal. He had the tact² to dispense with capital punishment, and, to avoid suspicion of dissimulation, he inculcated only a few, knowing that in civil war soldiers can be more venturesome³ than generals.

XXX. While fortifying the camp at Pavia they heard of Cæcina's defeat, and nearly mutinied again at the idea of missing the battle through the chicanery and hesitancy of Valens. Discarding rest, anticipating their general, leading the standards, and urging on the standard-bearers, they joined Cæcina by forced marches. Valens was unpopular with Cæcina's army. They complained that they, the smaller force by far, had sustained the full brunt of the foe—at once a personal plea and a flattering eulogy on the new-comers' strength,⁴ to avoid any slight from them for defeat and cowardice. Still, though Valens had the stronger force, nearly twice as many legionaries and auxiliaries, yet Cæcina attracted the soldiers' hearts, not only by his more genial affability, but likewise by his youthful prime, his lordly stature, and the glamour of an empty popularity. Hence rival generals. Cæcina sneered at the depraved and tarnished Valens; Valens, at the inflated and empty-headed Cæcina. But, masking their hatred, they worked in the same interest,⁵ and in many desperate letters insulted Otho, whilst the Othonianist generals, though furnished with superabundant materials, abstained from vituperation of Vitellius.

XXXI. Doubtless before their death, source of lustre to Otho and of infamy to Vitellius, the lazy pleasures of Vitellius caused less dread than Otho's burning

The armies of Valens and Cæcina unite. Rivalry between the generals.

Contrast between Otho and Vitellius.

¹ The eagles were of the legions V. Alaudæ and I. Italica.

² *Utili moderatione*, "tact," "*savoir faire*."

³ *Gnarus civilibus bellis plus militibus quam ducibus licere*. In civil war, Valens knew, generals are always in a hazardous position, and cannot afford to be as venturesome as their soldiers.

⁴ *Simul in suam excusationem et adventantium robur per adulationem attolentes*. Quite a Tacitean variation for the more monotonous and normal "*simul se excusantes et . . . attolentes*."

⁵ *Eandem utilitatem fovere*. "*Sie förderten das gleiche Interesse*" (Heræus).

passions. Galba's murder, too, had swelled the terror and hate of Otho's name, whereas no one charged Vitellius with originating¹ the war. Vitellius tarnished² himself alone by his inordinate gluttony; Otho's debauchery, cruelty, recklessness, were deemed more baneful to the state. With the forces of Cæcina and Valens combined, the Vitellianists hastened upon the supreme struggle. Otho deliberated whether he should protract the war or stand the hazard of the die. Then Suetonius Paulinus, deeming it befitted his reputation, as a strategist second to none³ of that day, to discuss the entire plan of campaign, maintained that rapidity was the enemy's game, procrastination theirs.

XXXII. "All the army of Vitellius is here. He can have but few reserves, since Gaul is in a ferment,⁴ and he dare not abandon the Rhine bank to the fury of such hostile tribes. War and the sea sever the soldiers of Britain; Spain can ill afford her men; Gallia Narbonensis has quailed under our naval attack and her defeat; Transpadane Italy is Alp-locked, bereft of naval aid, devastated by the very passage of his army; there is no corn for that army, and no army can stand without supplies. If we protract the war into summer, then the Germans, the enemy's fiercest soldiers, will

¹ He was too lazy for anything approaching intrepidity of initiative, and would never have attempted revolution unless spurred by Valens and Cæcina.

² *Sibi inhonestus*. The emendation of Victorius for the *inhonestus* of the Medicean MS. Rhenanus wrote *sibimet hostis*; Heinsius, *sibi infensus*. Now, beyond doubt the proposed emendation of Heinsius would be a more exact antithesis, *magis accurata ἀντιθεσις*, for rhetorical purposes—"Vitellius sibi infensus . . . Otho rei publicæ exitiosior." But Meiser's analysis shows that the emendation of Victorius is the true one. The *venter et gula* would render *Vitellius sibi inhonestus* rather than *infestus*. Moreover, the same error is found in *Med. Ann.*, xv. 25, *pax inhonestus* for *pax inhonesta*. So in iv. 62, *post*, the Medicean MS. has *inhora*, corrected by Victorius into *inhonora*.

³ *Nemo illa tempestate militaris rei callidior habebatur*. Suetonius Paulinus had won his reputation by two great achievements. He was the first Roman general that crossed the Atlas range. He had been brilliantly successful in Britain (*Annals*, xiv. 29; Pliny, *N. H.*, v. 14).

⁴ *Quoniam Gallix tumeant*, "as Gaul is in a ferment;" "*weil es in Gallien gähre*" (Heræus). Meiser appositely refers to Cicero, *Ad Att.*, xiv. 4 (after Cæsar's death): "*tument negotia*;" *ibid.*, xiv. 5: "*hunc rerum tumorem*;" Plin., *Panegy.*, 28: "*tumentibus plebis animis*;" Vergil, *Æn.*, vi. 49: "*rabie fera corda tument*."

become enervated¹ and unable to endure the climatic change. Many a war, strong at its onset, has faded away through sheer wearisome delay. But we are full of resource and loyalty. We have the scatheless armies of Pannonia, Moesia, Dalmatia, and the East. We have Italy and Rome, the world's capital, her Senate and people, names never dim, though sometimes partially eclipsed.² We have wealth, public and private, and vast treasure doughtier than the sword in civil war. Our soldiers are seasoned to the heat of Italy. The Po will guard us,³ and our cities are well manned and fortified—all impregnable—as proved by the defence of Piacenza. Then protract the war! A few days hence the Fourteenth Legion,⁴ of such signal renown, and the troops from Moesia⁵ will be here, and you may then again deliberate, and, if resolved on battle, fight with augmented strength."

XXXIII. Marius Celsus supported the opinion of Paulinus, and the messengers sent to learn the views of Annii Gallus, hurt by his horse's fall a few days before, reported his concurrence. Otho was inclined for a decisive engagement. His brother Titianus, and Proculus, captain of the Prætorians, with ignorant precipitancy, asseverated that Fortune, Heaven, and Otho's genius⁶ inspired their counsels and would protect their enterprises; and, lest

Evil counsellors
precipitate battle,
and induce Otho
to retire to
Bresello.

¹ *Fluxis corporibus*, "enervated." Compare Martial, v. 41: "Spadone cum sis evirator fluxo."

² *Etiam si aliquando obumbrentur*, "though sometimes partially eclipsed." Compare Ovid., *Metamorph.*, xiii. 845:

"Coma plurima torvos,

Prominet in vultus humerosque ut lucus obumbrat."

See also Pliny, ii. 42. 42, § iii.: "*Nubes solem obumbrant.*"

³ *Obfacere flumen Padum*. This is, of course, on the hypothesis that they would recross the Po, for they were now north of it at Bedriacum.

⁴ XIV. Gemina Martia Victrix, renowned for its services in Britain under Suetonius Paulinus.

⁵ III. Gallica, VII. Claudia, VIII. Augusta. They had just reached *Aquileia*, when the decisive battle at Bedriacum sealed Otho's fate. The advice of Suetonius Paulinus was admirable.

⁶ *Numen Othonis*. "*Schutzgeist*" (Hærsus). The tutelary spirit (*δαίμων*) of Otho. Compare Horace, *Carm.*, iv. 5. 34:

"Et Laribus tuum

Miscet numen, ut Græcia Castoris

Et magni memor Heroulis."

any one should dare oppose their views, they had recourse to flattery. Battle once determined on, they questioned, Was it better for the emperor to witness or stand apart from the engagement? Paulinus and Celsus withdrew opposition in tenderness for the prince's safety, and thus the same evil counsellors persuaded him to retire to Bresello,¹ where, safe from battle's risks, he might reserve himself for imperial administration. That day heralded the fall of Otho's party. For a strong contingent of the Prætorian cohorts, life-guards, and cavalry departed with him, and those remaining were downcast, for the generals were suspected, and Otho, the soldiers' sole trust, as his faith rested in them alone, had left the grades of authority undefined.²

XXXIV. Nothing escaped the Vitellianists, through the numerous deserters usual in civil wars; and the Othonianist spies, eager for enemy's news, ill concealed their own. Cæcina and Valens, crouched motionless for the enemy's reckless onset, watched, like wise men, for fools to begin, and commenced a bridge, as a feint to cross the Po, as well as to keep their own soldiers occupied. Ships were joined by strong planks at equidistant intervals, heading the current, and, moreover,³ anchored to ensure the bridge's stability; but the anchor-cables were allowed to swing free, in order that the line of ships might rise easily⁴ with the tide. The bridge was finished off by a turret built out on to⁵ the farthest ship, for driving off the enemy with

Cæcina and Valens on the watch. They make a feint to cross the Po.

¹ *Brizellum*. The modern Bresello, or Bersello, near Modena, on the south side of the Po.

² *Imperia ducum in incerto reliquerat*. "Otho hatte die Stellung der verschiedenen Heerführer zu einander und die militärischen Befugnisse der einzelnen Corpsbefehlshaber unentschieden gelassen, so dass Kompetenzkonflikte unausbleiblich waren" (Hersæus).

³ *Jactis super ancoris*. *Super* here is used as the equivalent of *insuper*, *præterea*. "Facilior," says Meiser, "tamen est interpretatio, ut sit adverbium pro *insuper*, *præterea*; non contenti erant trabibus illis firmando ponti destinatis, sed *præterea* ancoras jecerunt." So Gutmann translates, "und überdiess;" and Louandre, "on avait de plus jeté des ancres." With great respect I cannot agree with Hersæus, who renders, "über ausgeworfenen Ankern (ruhend)," taking *super* as a preposition, but admitting that the adverbial sense is the regular Tacitean form.

⁴ *Inoffensus*. Easily, unhindered by any taut cable.

⁵ *In extremam navem educta*, "built out on to the last ship." Here *educta* is not

war engines and machines. The Othonianists too had raised a turret on their side, whence they hurled stones and fire-missiles.

XXXV. There was an island in mid-stream, and as the gladiators slowly sailed towards it, the German swimmers outstripped them;¹ and when perchance many swimmers so reached it, Macer transported his most daring gladiators in Liburnian galleys and attacked them there. But the gladiators did not fight with the same *esprit de corps*² as the soldiers against them, nor was their aim from rolling decks³ as sure as that of their opponents on the firm river-bank. Moreover, when, during the surging panic-stricken oscillations, the oarsmen and gladiators became intermingled and disorganized, the Germans actually sprang into the shallows, held back the ships, and boarded or submerged them with their hands.⁴ All this in sight of both armies⁵ inspirited the Vitellianists as keenly as it evoked curses from the Othonianists 'gainst the source and author of the disaster.

Otho's gladiators
defeated by the
Batavian swimmers on an
island in the Po.

used in its primary sense of "reared" or "raised on high," as in Vergil, *Æn.*, ii. 460:

*"Turrim in præcipiti stantem summisque sub astra
Eductam tectis,"*

but rather means "built out on to"—*vorgeschoben*. Tacitus uses the word in its primary sense in *Annals*, xii. 16; and *post*, iv. 30.

¹ *In quam gladiatores navibus molientes Germani nando prælabebantur. Prælabor* here governs the accusative, as in *Petronius*, xcix: "*Ira eruditæ mentes prælabitur.*" *Molior* is here used in the sense of "laboriously striving or labouring towards," and is found in the same neuter sense in Cicero, *Rep.*: "*De occupando regno moliens.*" The island is near the village of Spinadesso, a thousand yards from the bank, close to the confluence of the Adda and Po.

² *Sed neque ea constantia gladiatoribus ad prælia, quæ militibus.* The gladiators had never been in the habit of fighting together, but were trained merely for single combats. Hence they could not fight *constantia*, with *esprit de corps*, like the soldiers who had always fought together. This use of the word *constantia* is an apt illustration of the colour given to words by the context, often wholly unexplained even by the best dictionaries. "*Utpote,*" says Meiser, "*qui antea soliti essent singuli dumtaxat cum singulis depugnare.*" I have no doubt that a corps of prize-fighters would be equally ineffective against trained soldiers.

³ *Nutantes e navibus*, "rolling on the decks," which may be well translated "from rolling decks."

⁴ *Comminus*, "with their hands." Mr. Spooner aptly refers to Vergil, *Georg.*, i. 104: "*Quid dicam, jacto qui semine comminus arva
Insequitur?*"

⁵ Meiser refers to the important observations of Ferlet and Burnouf: "*Par ces mots il faut entendre seulement, d'un côté le corps de gladiateurs campé sur la rive droite du Pô, et de l'autre les troupes employées par Cécina sur la rive gauche à la*

XXXVI. As the surviving ships broke loose¹ from their captors, flight stayed the battle. Macer's death was demanded. He was wounded with a lance-shot, and they were rushing upon him with drawn swords, when he was rescued by the intervention of the tribunes and centurions. Soon after Vestricius Spurinna arrived by Otho's order with infantry reinforcements, leaving a moderate garrison behind him at Piacenza. Then Otho appointed Flavius Sabinus,² consul-elect, commander in the stead of Macer. The soldiers were elated at the change of generals, while the generals loathed a service so dangerous³ from constant mutinies.

XXXVII. I find it stated by certain authors⁴ that, either in dread of war or scorning both princes, whose crimes and deeds of shame were more widely bruited every day, both armies bethought them of sheathing the sword and taking common counsel, or letting the Senate choose an emperor, and, with that view, the Othonianist generals had advised pause and deliberation, Paulinus being most sanguine, as senior consular and brilliant soldier, renowned and famous for his British campaigns.⁵ For myself, while conceding that a few yearned in silent prayer for peace in discord's stead, for a good and blameless prince in lieu of abandoned wretches, still I cannot credit that the shrewd Paulinus could have hoped, in so profligate an age, for such universal moderation, that those who had shattered peace for love of war would abandon war for the dear sake of peace, that armies varying in language and habit could have har-

construction et à la garde du pont. Car les armées elles-mêmes étaient l'une à Bédriac l'autre (de Vitellius) à Crémone."

¹ *Abruptis quæ supererant navibus.* "Scilicet e manibus retentantium" (Meiser). There is consequently no reason to depart from the MS. reading and accept the emendation of J. F. Gronovius, *abreptis*.

² *Flavius Sabinus.* Not the same person as Vespasian's brother of the same name, city prefect, then at Rome.

³ *Tam infestam.* "Von so bedrohlichem Charakter" (Heræus). "*Infestus* wird von persönlicher Bedrohung gebraucht, sowohl aktivisch = 'in feindlicher Absicht gerichtet' (s. zu i. 31, 15), als passivisch = 'gefährdet, bedroht'" (Heræus).

⁴ Who those authors were must be matter of surmise. Mr. Spooner suggests that one of them may have been the rhetorician Secundus (Plutarch, *Otho*, ix.), and another, Cluvius Rufus (Plutarch, *Otho*, viii. 10).

⁵ *Britanniciis expeditionibus* (see *Annals*, xiv. 29. 39; *Agricola*, v. xvi.).

Narrow escape of Macer. Flavius Sabinus appointed in his stead.

The historian discusses and discards the statement that both armies debated peace and a new emperor.

moniously entered into such a compact, or that general officers, for the most part conscious of debauchery, poverty, and crime, would tolerate any but a prince besmirched at once and bound¹ by such services as theirs.

XXXVIII. Man's inveterate and innate lust for power waxed and yawed² with the growth of empire. For equality was readily maintained within moderate limits. But ^{Past and present.} when, after the subjection of the world and the obliteration of rival kings and cities, men had leisure to yearn for the unmolested enjoyment of wealth, then the first conflicts between senators and populace flamed forth. Now tribunes³ fired the mob, now consuls⁴ swayed supreme, and in city and in forum were mimic⁵ civil wars; next Caius Marius from the rabble and Lucius Sulla, most ruthless of nobles, vanquished Liberty and transformed her into Tyranny.⁶ Then came Cneius Pompeius, more dissembling, no whit better, and ever afterwards the purple was the sole guerdon of contest.⁷ The civic legions at Pharsalia and Philippi never sheathed the sword; much less would the armies of Otho and Vitellius have been voluntary peace-makers. The same wrath of Heaven, same human frenzy, same mainsprings of crime drove them into civil war. 'Twas

¹ *Pollutum obstrictumque meritis suis*. This fine climax caps a series of involved and antithetical sentences quite outside the usual style of the historian. The passage, "*Ut qui pacem belli amore turbaverant bellum pacis caritate deponent*," is the sole example found in Tacitus of what Longinus terms the figure of ἀντιμεταβολή, or *transposition*. Accustomed as we are to the rapid pulsations of the master's style, this change to the slow and majestic roll of philosophic dissertation affords a charming contrast.

² *Eruptit*, "yawed." "Yaw," in its primary sense, means to rise in blisters, breaking in white froth, as cane-juice in the sugar works (see Webster's *Dictionary*). This word therefore expresses the metaphoric eruption comprised in the word *eruptit*.

³ Such as Tiberius and C. Sempronius Gracchus, and L. Appuleius Saturninus, whose names are joined in *Annals*, iii. 27: "Hinc Gracchi et Saturnini turbatores plebis."

⁴ Such as Appius Claudius and L. Opimius. Meiser refers to Plutarch, *C. Gracchus*, xviii.: Οὗτος μὲντοι πρῶτος (L. Opimius) ἐξουσίᾳ δικτάτορος ἐν ὑπατείᾳ χρησάμενος καὶ κατακτείνας ἀκρίτους ἐπὶ τρισχίλοις πολίταις Γάϊον Γράκχον καὶ Φούβιον Φλάκκον.

⁵ *Temptamenta civilium bellorum*. Essays in or preludes to civil war—mimic civil war; "ein Vorspiel" (Hæmus).

⁶ *Dominatio*; τυραννίς: "Despotie" (Hæmus).

⁷ *Quæsitum* is here equivalent to *certatum*. *Annals*, ii. 74: "Inter V. Marsum et On. Sentium diu *quæsitum*."

but the cowardice of the princes that finished wars as if by single strokes. But comparison¹ of past and present has carried me away, so I return to my narrative.

XXXIX. Upon the departure of Otho for Bresello, the formal supremacy devolved upon his brother Titianus, the real power vested in the prefect Proculus. Celsus and Paulinus, although nobody availed himself of their skill, yet, as titular generals, served as screens for blunders not their own. The tribunes and centurions were unreliable,² for merit was discarded and worthlessness prevailed; the soldiers were full of spirits, yet inclined to criticize rather than obey their generals' orders. An advance of four miles from Bedriacum³ was determined on, and was so unskilfully executed, that, although in springtime and with rivers all around, the men suffered from water-famine.⁴ The question of battle then arose, Otho by letter urging immediate action, the soldiers demanding their emperor's presence in the field; many insisted upon being reinforced by the troops beyond the Po. What would have been the best course is not at all as clear as that the course pursued was the very worst.

XL. Starting, not for a battle, but for a campaign,⁵ they

¹ *Reputatio*, "comparison," as in cap. l., *post*: "*Tempora reputantibus*." This "*veterum novorumque morum reputatio*" commingles Tacitus and Carlyle in "past and present."

² *Ambigui*, "unreliable;" "*unzuverlässig*" (Hersæus). Fortunately Tacitus himself explains the meaning of *ambiguus* in iv. 56, *post*: "*Inter ambiguos milites et occultos hostes, optimum e præsentibus ratus mutua dissimulatione et isdem quibus petebatur grassari, in coloniam Agrippinensem descendit*." The meaning of *ambiguus* in this connection is therefore manifest, and cannot be either "perplexed" or "an uncertain quantity."

³ This advance was from Bedriacum towards Cremona.

⁴ This passage occurs in the Greek of Plutarch almost word for word: Περὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ δὲ Πρόκλος ἐκ τοῦ Βητριάκου καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἀπὸ πεντήκοντα σταδίων οὕτως ἀπέλωε καὶ καταγελάσας, ὥστε τῆς μὲν ὕρας ἐαρινῆς οὐσης, τῶν δὲ κυκλῶ πέδιλων πολλὰ νάματα καὶ ποταμοὺς δεινούς ἐχόντων, ὕδατος σπάνει πιεῖσθαι. Now, Plutarch refers to Cluvius Rufus, Secundus, Mestrius Florus (an eye-witness of the battle), and Pompeius Planta, but does not mention Tacitus. It would, therefore, seem probable that the great historian and immortal biographer drew their narrative from some common source—in the main, perhaps, from Cluvius Rufus.

⁵ *Non ut ad pugnam sed ad bellandum profecti*. This is the reading of the Medicean MS. Grotius proposed the emendation of *ad debellandum*, but quite unnecessarily, as shown by Dübner, who refers to cap. xlv., *post*, where the historian describes the Vitellianists as "*expeditis et tantum ad prælium egressis*." Moreover,

marched towards the junction of the rivers Po and Adda,¹ a distance of sixteen miles. When Celsus and Paulinus declined to expose the footsore, baggage-laden soldiers to an enemy that, light-geared and fresh after a mere four-mile march,² was sure to attack men disarrayed or scattered and engaged in camp-entrenchments, then Titianus and Proculus, worsted in argument, had recourse to their official authority. Indeed, a Numidian courier had galloped up with inexorable orders in which Otho, weary of delay and chafing 'gainst suspense, chid the generals' sluggishness, and bade them take decisive action.

The Othonianists march towards the junction of the rivers Po and Adda. Otho peremptorily orders a decisive engagement.

XLI. On the same day, while Cæcina was occupied with the bridge's construction, two Prætorian tribunes came and sought an interview³ with him. He was ready to grant audience and answer, when scouts came headlong to announce the enemy's presence. This broke off the tribunes' interview, and it is therefore uncertain whether they designed ensnarement, treachery, or had an honourable mission.⁴ Cæcina

The battle of Bedriacum.

Heinsius had long before clearly explained and defended the MS. reading: "Qui ad bella proficiscuntur, sarcinas secum ferunt: qui ad pugnam, eas in loco proximo relinquunt. Quod non factum, etsi hostis in vicinia." Orelli aptly compares *Germania*, xxx.: "Alios ad prælium ire videas, Chattos ad bellum."

¹ Whether *Bedriacum* was the modern Canneto, or La Bina, or Ustiano, or S. Lorenzo Guazzone (see cap. xxiii., *ante*), we know that it was a village between Cremona and Verona, and therefore the march from Bedriacum to the junction of the rivers Po and Adda, situated five miles at the *other side* of Cremona, exposed Otho's army to a dreadful flank attack from the entire forces of Vitellius marshalled in the environs of Cremona under Valens and Cæcina. It may be asked, Why were the Othonianists guilty of such folly? First, the experienced generals, Celsus and Paulinus, had been deprived of authority; and, secondly, if Marshal MacMahon made the same mistake at Sedan, we must not be surprised if the incompetent Titianus and Proculus similarly blundered. I cannot, therefore, agree with Theodor Mommsen, who thinks such a mistake inconceivable. Héræus observes, "Dieser vom strategischen Gesichtspunkte aus unsinnige Flankenmarsch in fast unmittelbarer Nähe des Feindes, der jenes verhängnisvolle Strategem, das mit dem Tage von Sedan endete, an Waghalsigkeit noch überbietet, wird von Th. Mommsen als undenkbar beanstandet."

² The junction of the Po and Adda was more than five miles from the town of Cremona, but doubtless the Vitellianist encampment was in the environs, and by so much nearer to the Othonianists.

³ *Conloquium ejus postulantes*. Our American cousins are perhaps hardly aware of the antiquity of "interviewing."

⁴ *Insidias an proditionem vel aliquod honestum consilium ceptaverint*. The word *an* marks the co-ordinate ensnarement for Cæcina or treachery towards Otho; whereas the *vel* accentuates the distinct alternative of an honourable mission.

dismissed the tribunes, rode back to camp,¹ and found the signal for battle already given by Fabius Valens and the soldiers in array. While the legions were drawing lots for the post of honour in action, the cavalry charged, and, strange to say, it was the valour of the Italian Legion that overawed them from being driven back upon² their own defences by a smaller number of Othonianists. The legion forced them at the sword's point to return to the charge. The Vitellianist legions were marshalled steadily, for, although the enemy was close at hand, the glitter of arms was screened by the dense vine-groves. The Othonianist generals were nervous, the soldiers refractory, the waggons and sutlers commingled with the regulars, and, with steep dikes on both sides, the road was narrow even for an undisturbed advance. Some halted round their standards; others sought them; confused cries resounded amidst trampling and shouting;³ and, under the sway of courage or cowardice, the lines surged forward or rolled back.

XLII. Delusive joy turned their panic into apathy upon the

Desperate
fighting.

lying news that his army had revolted from Vitellius.

It is hard to tell whether this rumour was spread by Vitellianist scouts, or was a piece of Othonianist stratagem or gossip. Slacking combat,⁵ the Othonianists actually saluted the enemy, and, when challenged by hostile murmurings, as many of their own men knew not why they greeted, they inspired apprehension of treachery. Then the enemy, superior in strength and numbers, charged them in serried ranks. The Othonianists, although scattered, numerically inferior, and exhausted, encountered them with spirit; and, on the broken ground of

¹ *Revertus in castra.* Thus showing that the Vitellianist army made their flank attack as the Othonianists were passing Cremona, on their way to the junction of the Po and Adda. In the preceding chapter the word *petebant* is used.

² *Quo minus in vallum impingerentur.* Compare Vergil, *Æn.*, v. 804:

"Quum Troia Achilles

Exanimata sequens impingeret agmina muris."

³ *Clamor adcurrentium, vocantium.* The emendation of J. F. Gronovius for the Medicean MS. *clamantiū* with a marginal *uo.* Compare iii. 68, *post*: "*Clamor obsistentium . . . in Palatium vocantium.*"

⁴ *Prorumpebant aut relabebantur*, "surged forward or rolled back." A metaphor taken from the action of the waves of the sea. Compare Vergil, *Æn.*, x. 307: "*Retrahitque pedem simul unda relabens.*"

⁵ *Omisso pugnae ardore*, "slacking combat."

wood or vineyard, the fight showed many aspects as they met, hand to hand, in volleys, in detachments, in columns. On the raised causeway they grappled,¹ wrestled, interlocked their shields, came to close quarters, and cleft helmet and breastplate with sword and battle-axe. Face to face² before the world they fought the vital issue³ of the war.

XLIII. In the open plain, 'twixt the Po and highway, two legions chanced to clash—the Vitellianist Twenty-first, bearing the *nom de guerre* of "*The Rapids*,"⁴ renowned of yore, and the Othonianist First Marines,⁵ yet untried in battle, but spirited and eager to win their spurs.⁶ They swept away the first line and captured the eagle of the Twenty-first, which, in its turn, stung to the quick, repelled the attack of the First, slew their lieutenant-general, Orfidius Benignus, and made *Rapid*⁷ work of their standards

Struggle between the legion Rapax and the First Marines. Defeat of the Othonianists.

¹ *Conlato gradu*. Mr. Godley appositely refers to the Vergilian—"Hæret pede pes densusque viro vir."

² *Noscentes inter se*. Dio., lxx. 12: γινώσκοντες ἀλλήλους. Compare Cicero, *Correspondence*, Letter cclii., *Att.*, vi. 1; Tyrrell and Purser's edit., vol. iii. p. 176, sect. 12: "Cicerones pueri amant inter se."

³ *In eventum*, "*um die Entscheidung*" (Hærsus).

⁴ *Rapax*. Under protest I submit to the *consensus* of critics and editors who translate Plutarch's Ἀρπᾶξ as signifying "a torrent," "rapid," or "whirlwind." So Meiser: "Sane est die Reissende, non die Räuberische." So Hærsus: "Die gleich wie ein Wildbach alles mit sich fortreißt, die unwiderstehliche." So all the English editors. But Ἀρπᾶξ means "robbing," "rapacious." Ἡ Ἀρπᾶξ means "rapine" in Hesiod., *Op.*, 354. Ὁ Ἀρπᾶξ means "a robber" as in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, 351; and we actually have ὁ μὲν κλέπτῃς, ὁ δ' Ἀρπᾶξ in Myrtilus, *Incert.*, 1. All are familiar with the Sophoclean πείραν τιν' ἐχθρῶν ἀρπάζαι θηρόμενον. Moreover, I have already pointed out, in Book I. cap. 67, *ante*, that the historian plays upon the word *Rapax*, where, speaking of the Twenty-first Legion, he says, "*rapuerant pecuniam*," which must be taken in the sense of "rapacity" or "robbery." Thirdly, the *nom de guerre* of "The Robbers" is quite intelligible, as both in ancient and modern times the most celebrated and distinguished *corps* have enjoyed extraordinary *sobriquets*. We all know that one of our most glorious and famous regiments is proud of the title of "The Dirty Half-hundred." My opinion, therefore, is that *Rapax* should be translated as "The Robbers;" but, as already observed, I yield under protest to the opposite *consensus*. One great authority, however, would seem to take my view—Pfitzner, *Geschichte der Röm. Kaiserlegionen*, p. 8, *et seq.*

⁵ *Prima Adjutrix Classicorum*. They had a skirmish at "the Castors," as mentioned in cap. xxiv, *ante*, so that the words "*non ante in aciem deducta*" must have reference to a *pitch battle*.

⁶ *Novi decoris avidi*, "eager to win their spurs." A metaphorical translation which I think justifiable.

⁷ *Rapuit*. A play upon the *sobriquet* "*Rapax*," as in Book I. cap. lxxvii., *ante*, which see.

and colours. On the right wing,¹ the Thirteenth Legion succumbed to the charge of the Fifth, and the Fourteenth detachment² was surrounded by superior numbers. The Othonianist generals had long fled when Cæcina and Valens brought up their reserves, which included a new arrival—Varus Alfenus with his Batavians, after routing and destroying in mid-stream the band of gladiators convoyed across the river.³ Flushed with victory, they now charged the Othonianist left flank.⁴

XLIV. When their centre too was shattered, the Othonianists fled wildly towards Bedriacum. That covered an immense stretch of country.⁵ The roads were blocked with piles of dead, and that increased the slaughter; for prisoners in civil war are not sold into slavery.⁶ Suetonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus avoided the camp by by-paths. His own blind fear exposed Veditius Aquila, lieutenant-general of the Thirteenth Legion, to the fury of the soldiery. He entered camp in broad daylight,⁷ and was surrounded by yelling mutineers and runaways, who refrained neither from taunts nor violence, and upbraided him as a deserter and traitor; not that he was guilty, but, like all mobs, they fathered their iniquities on their neighbours. Night aided Titianus and Celsus as the watch was set and the soldiers tranquillized; for Annius Gallus had, by his advice, prayers, and influence, moved them not to deepen the disaster of defeat by suicidal fury, as, whether the war was over or they chose to fight again, the sole hope of the vanquished lay in concord. The army at large was

Flight of the
Othonianists
towards
Bedriacum.

¹ *A parte alia*. "In dextro cornu Othonianorum" (Meiser).

² *Quartadecimani*. The Fourteenth detachment, for the Fourteenth Legion itself was not there. See cap. lxvi., *post*: "*Quippe Bedriacensi acie vexillariis tantum pulsæ vires legionis non adfuisse.*"

³ See the description in cap. xxxv., *ante*.

⁴ *Latus hostium*. The Othonianist left flank; "*die linke Flanke*" (Heræus).

⁵ *Immensum id spatium*. A distance of twenty miles could only relatively be termed *immensum spatium*, and it relatively was such for the exhausted, broken, and wounded soldiery of Otho. So Ryckius: "*Immensum autem vocat respectu fugientium, qui vehementer defatigati omnes, pars vulnerati erant.*"

⁶ Meiser cites Plutarch, *Otho*, xiv.: *Ἐνέσκειν μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τοὺς ἐμφυλούς πολέμους, ὅταν τροπὴ γένηται, πλείονας εἰκός ἐστι τῷ μηδένα ζῶγειν χρῆσθαι γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς ἀλίσκομένοις.*

⁷ *Multo adhuc die*. "*Noch am hellen Tage*"—Heræus, who appositely refers to v. 22, *post*, "*multa luce*;" and iii. 77: "*multa nocte*;" iii. 79: "*multo jam noctis.*"

disheartened; but the Prætorians growled that they were conquered, not by valour, but by treachery. "The Vitellianists, too," they cried, "had no bloodless victory. Their cavalry were routed and their legionary eagle captured. We have still Otho and his soldiers across the Po; the legions from Mœsia are at hand; a large contingent of the army remained at Bedriacum. These are yet unconquered, and, be it Heaven's will, 'tis better fall with honour in the fray!"¹ Such reflections excited anger or fear,² but the final promptings of despair goaded them to wrath oftener than to terror.

XLV. But the Vitellianist army halted five miles from Bedriacum, as the generals would not attempt to storm the camp on the same day; capitulation, moreover, was expected. Yet, light-gearèd as they were, and in mere skirmishing trim,³ their arms and victory proved a rampart.⁴ Next day the feelings of the Othonianist army were manifest, and, when the most obdurate relented, envoys were sent forth; nor did the Vitellianist generals hesitate in granting peace. The envoys were briefly detained, and that created an uneasy feeling of uncertainty as to their success. Upon their prompt return, the camp was thrown open. Then vanquished and victors wept, and amid tears of joy⁵ cursed the lot of civil war. In the same tents they nursed the wounds, now of brothers, now of kinsmen. Hope and

The Othonianists sue for and obtain terms of peace. The opposing armies meet and indulge in passionate grief.

¹ Meiser, in a note of conspicuous ability, argues that this speech is wrongly put by a corrupt transposition into the mouths of the Prætorians, whereas it is, he thinks, really the speech of Annius Gallus. He contends that the words "*honestius in acie perituros*" clearly refer to the preceding "*ne super cladem adversæ pugnæ suismet ipsi cædibus ævirent*;" and quotes Plutarch, *Otho*, xiii.: "Ἀννίος δὲ Γάλλος ἀνελάμβανεν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ παρεμυθεῖτο τοὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης συλληγομένους, ὡς ἀγχωμέλου γεγενημένης καὶ πολλοῖς κεκρατηκότας μέρεσι τῶν πολεμίων."

² *His cogitationibus truces aut pavidî.* I cannot agree with Walther, cited approvingly by Meiser, that *truces* alone is to be construed with *cogitationibus*. The logical sequence is quite the other way, and requires *pavidî* as well, in connection with *cogitationibus*.

³ *Sed expeditis et tantum ad prælium egressis.* Compare cap. xl., ante: "*Non ut ad pugnam sed ad bellandum profecti*," and see note on same.

⁴ *Munimentum.* They had no spades or tools of sappers to dig the usual entrenchments or ramparts, but their arms and the renown of victory served them instead of a rampart.

⁵ *Misera lætitia*, "amid tears of joy." An *oxymoron* apparently founded on the immortal *Δακρυόεν γελᾶσασα*.

rewards were shadows; the grave and sorrow realities; nor was a soul so free from care as not to mourn some death. The remains of Orfidius, the lieutenant-general, were sought and cremated with ritual honours;¹ a few were interred by their relatives; but the dead at large lay unburied.

XLVI. Otho was abiding news of the combat unruffled and resolved. First came dismal rumours, then fugitives from the battle made clear the day was lost. The excited soldiers awaited not their emperor's voice, but bade him, "Be of good heart! Reinforcements still abound, and we ourselves will endure and brave the worst!" No flatterers they, but flamed with fanatical enthusiasm to fight and rouse the drooping fortunes of their party. Those afar stretched their hands, those near clasped his knees, especially Plotius Firmus, captain of the Prætorians, who pressingly besought him not to abandon his most faithful army and devoted troops. It needed greater heart, he said, to endure than to fly from tribulation.² Brave and spirited men clung³ to hope despite fortune; cowards and poltroons hurried in their terror towards despair. 'Mid these entreaties, as Otho's features relaxed or hardened, there ensued corresponding cheers or lamentations.⁴ Nor was this so with the Prætorians alone, Otho's favourite corps, but messengers from Moesia proclaimed the same devotion in the approaching army and its legions⁵ already at Aglar;⁶ so that we may be sure

¹ *Honore solito crematur.* The ceremony of cremation was far more elaborate than that of burial. Here it will be observed that the remains of the general were cremated, while the humbler dead were buried by kinsfolk. Tibullus, iii. 2. 19, gives an elaborate description of ritual cremation, as also Ovid, *Trist.*, iii. 3. 69; *Fast.*, iii. 561. For a full description see the new edition of Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, vol. i. p. 893, tit. "Funus."

² *Majore animo tolerari adversa quam relinquî.* Lipsius refers to Aristotle, *Eth. Nicomach.*, iii. 11 (1116a, 12): τὸ δ' ἀποθήσκειν φεύγοντα πενίαν ἢ ἔρωτα ἢ τι λυπηρὸν οὐκ ἀνδρείου, ἀλλὰ μάλλον δειλοῦ.

³ *Insistere spei.* "In der Hoffnung beharren, daran festhalten"—Heraeus, who refers to *Annals*, xvi. 25: "Sin crudelitati insisteret;" and ii. 21: "Insisterent cœdibus."

⁴ *Quas inter voces ut flexerat vultum aut induraverat Otho, clamor et gemitus.* "Clamorem intellige lætantium, ubi flexerat vultum, tamquam obsecuturus militum studiis; gemitum dolentium, ubi induraverat, tamquam consilii certus" (Ernesti, cited by Meiser).

⁵ III. Gallica; VII. Claudiana; VIII. Augusta.

⁶ *Aquileia.* The modern Aquileja, or Aglar, near Venice.

war might have been renewed with its terrors, calamities, hazards for vanquished and victors alike.

XLVII. Discarding all ideas of war, "Such hearts," said Otho,¹ "such valour as yours, to further hazard, would pay too dearly for my life. The brighter the Otho's farewell. hopes ye point to, should I care to live, the nobler will be my death! Fortune² and I in turn have tried each other; nor need ye reckon how briefly;³ for 'tis harder to hold the lip from pleasure's fleeting cup.⁴ Vitellius began the civil war; he was the source of our imperial strife; I shall lead the way to stay that struggle once and for aye; by that let the future judge Otho. Vitellius shall greet his brother, wife, and children;⁵ I need neither revenge nor consolation. Others may have held the throne for longer, but none have quitted with more fortitude than I. Could I endure the sight of hosts of Roman youths, so many noble armies, again laid low and torn from Fatherland? Let the thought of your devotion unto death go with me, but do you live on! Nor let delay imperil your safety or my constancy! To prattle anent death were cowardly; take as main proof of my resolve that I complain of none. Let him who cares to live chide gods or men!"

XLVIII. Such were his words, and then, with affable address to all as became their age or position, he bade the young and prayed the old depart with haste, nor He tenders consolation to his youthful nephew, Salvius Cocceianus. exasperate the victor by tarrying, while with calm looks and firm accents he checked his friends' unseasonable tears. He ordered ships and carriages for those departing, and

¹ This sublime speech shows at its best the noble genius of Tacitus. The narrative of Plutarch, in its dull and prosaic mediocrity, will serve the reader as a foil.

² *Experti in vicem sumus ego ac Fortuna.* Meiser thus paraphrases: "*Ego Fortunam expertus sum, scilicet et secundam et adversam: nihil jam mihi dare poterit nec amplius experiar; fortuna me experta est, scilicet eum, cui neque secunda neque adversa animi constantiam ademerit.*" Compare i. 15, i. 29, ante.

³ Compare Statius, *Thebais*, ii. 446: "Non parit populis regnum breve."

⁴ *Temperare felicitati.* Shakespeare, in a nobler and more spiritual sense, translates, "Absent thee from felicity awhile."

⁵ They were prisoners of Otho, who cared them with tenderness and solicitude, as may be seen from Plutarch, *Otho*, xv., cited by Meiser: Παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ τέκνα τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ γυναῖκες: and γ.: Ἰσχυρῶς δὲ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπεμελήθη τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου καὶ τῆς γυναῖκος, ὅπως μὴδὲν φοβήσονται περὶ αὐτῶν.

destroyed petitions and letters characterized by devotion towards himself or insult towards Vitellius. He bestowed presents sparingly, and not as one about to die. Then he tendered¹ consolation to his stripling nephew, Salvius Cocceianus, anxious and sad, and praised his dutiful affection, but restrained his fear. "Will Vitellius be so ruthless," he exclaimed, "as not to grant me this one favour in return for saving all his family? My haste to death deserves the victor's clemency; for not in despair's last throes, but while my army called for battle, have I foregone my last chance² for sake of Fatherland. I have won enough lustre for myself, rank enough for my descendants. Successor to the Julii, Claudii, Servii,³ I was the first to bear the purple to another⁴ house. Then be of good cheer on entering life, and forget not altogether, nor yet too fondly⁵ remember, that Otho was your uncle."

XLIX. Then, left alone, he rested briefly; but scarce[†] did he ponder over life's last cares, when a sudden uproar distracted him, and he became apprised of a wild and lawless outbreak among the soldiers, for they threatened departure with death, displaying the fiercest violence towards Virginius, whom they blockaded in his house. Otho reproved the mutineers, and held a farewell reception until all had gone in peace. At eventide he quenched his thirst with

Otho's death,
April 16,
A.U.C. 822,
A.D. 69, having
reigned 92 days,
aged 37 years.

¹ *Ultero* here indicates the initiative of condescension on the emperor's part.

² *Remisisse rei publicæ potissimum casum*, "foregone my last chance for the sake of Fatherland." This is the clear meaning of this passage, as demonstrated by Tacitus himself in *Annals*, xii. 33, where the British chieftain, Caractacus, or Caratacus, is described as trying or staking his last chance on a decisive battle with the Romans, "*novissimum casum experitur*." It is, therefore, clear that Heræus is wrong in translating *casum* as "misfortune" in this connection, for which he cites many passages in the history. But *casus* is just as frequently used by Tacitus in the sense of "a chance," as in *Annals*, i. 13: "*Si casus daretur*;" xi. 9: "*Casus Mithridati datus est*;" xii. 28: "*Casum pugne præberent*." So Sallust, *Jugurth.*, xxv. 9: "Aut vi aut dolis sese *casum victoriæ inventurum*;" lvi. 4: "*Fortunam illis præclari facinoris casum dare*."

³ One would expect Sulpicios, but Servius had become a characteristic *præ-nomen*.

⁴ *Novam familiam*. Another house, not a new family, for Otho was of ancient race.

⁵ *Nimium*, "too fondly." He was afterwards executed by Domitian for celebrating Otho's birthday.

[†] *Atque* is here, as elsewhere, used in the Vergilian sense of *statim*.

ice-cold water. Then he had two¹ daggers fetched, tried their temper, and placed one 'neath his pillow.² When he found his friends had left, he passed a quiet night, and, as they tell us, slept. At twilight he fell upon the steel.³ Hearing his death-groan, his freedmen, slaves, and Plotius Firmus, captain of the Prætorians, rushed in and found a single wound. His funeral was hastened; that favour he had pressingly besought, lest his head might be gibbeted for public mockery. The Prætorian cohorts bore his remains amid praises and tears, while they fervently embraced his wound and hands. Some soldiers slew themselves upon his pyre, not through remorse or fear, but to rival his glory and testify their love for him; and afterwards that mode of death became a common practice at Bedriacum, Piacenza, and other camps. Otho's monument was simple, that it might be unmolested. Such was his end in the thirty-seventh⁴ year of his age.

L. He sprang from the town of Ferento.⁵ His father was

¹ *Duobus* does not occur in the MSS., but its insertion has been approved of by all editors from the context "*cum utrumque pertemptasset*," and from the narratives of Plutarch and Suetonius.

² *Alterum capiti subdidit*, "placed one 'neath his pillow." Tacitus, who knew Vergil by heart, cultivated the exquisite taste of the divine poet, and never uses a trivial word if the same idea could be conveyed in more impressive phraseology. So here he uses *capiti* for *pillow* to avoid the trivial word *pulvinus* or *cervical*. Thus Vergil, *Æn.*, vi. 524:

"Fidum *capiti* subduxerat ensem."

Contrast Suetonius, *Otho*, xi.: "*Cum alterum pulvino subdidisset*."

³ Martial, vi. 32:

"Cum dubitaret adhuc belli civilis Enyo,
Forsitan et posset vincere mollis Otho,
Damnavit multo staturum sanguine Martem,
Et fodit certa pectora nuda manu.
Sit Cato dum vivit sane vel Cæsare major,
Dum moritur numquid major Othone fuit?"

I venture upon the following English version:—

"When civil war's fell Fury poised her gage,
And still soft Otho might victorious rest;
His soul quick spurning bloody Mars his wage,
He smote with fatal hand his naked breast.
In life let Cato Cæsar's self dethrone,
But Otho's death with Cato's shares the crown."

⁴ Meiser observes upon this, "*Tricensimo et octavo*, ait Suetonius, *Otho*, xi., qui suo more comprehendit annum, quo natus est et quo obiit. Proprie habuit modo annos xxxvi., menses xi., dies xx. Compare Oudendorp, *Suetonius*, ad loc."

⁵ *Ferentinum*, in *Etruria*. Now Ferento, near Viterbo.

of consular, his grandfather of prætorian, rank; his mother's family was less eminent, but of no mean descent. His boyhood and youth were such as we have described; and he earned from posterity an equal measure of infamy and glory by two daring deeds—one most heinous, the other lustrous.¹ While I believe it would be foreign to the dignity of my history to collect fables and entertain my readers' minds with romances, still I dare not discredit matters of notoriety and tradition. The natives tell us that, on the day of the battle of Bedriacum, a strange-looking bird perched in a grove much visited² at Reggio,³ and was not subsequently terrified or scared by the concourse of people or flocks of birds until Otho's suicide; that then it disappeared; and that those who compared⁴ the time found the inception and conclusion of the prodigy synchronize⁵ with Otho's last hours.

Family and origin of Otho. Strange prodigy at Reggio on the day of his death.

LI. At his funeral sorrow and chagrin rekindled the mutiny; nor was there one to restrain it. Turning to Verginius, they called on him, with alternate threats and prayers, now to assume the purple, now to proceed as envoy to Valens and Cæcina. Verginius slipped secretly away by the rear⁶ of his house and baffled the intruders. Rubrius Gallus⁷ acted as mediator for the cohorts at Bresello, and

Verginius declines imperial honours and flies from Bresello.

¹ *Duobus facinoribus, altero flagitiosissimo, altero egregio.* The *facinus flagitiosissimum* was the murder of Galba; and the *facinus egregium* was the self-immolation of Otho, that he might spare lives and stay the civil war. *Zonaras*, xi. 15: *Κάκιστα ἀνθρώπων ζήσας κάλλιστα ἀπέθανεν.*

² *Celebri loco*, "in a grove much visited." Meiser observes, "Id est religione aliqua sacro, propter quam eum frequentabant, id quod auget arcanam totius miraculi speciem."

³ *Regium Lepidum.* The modern Reggio, between Parma and Modena, and south of Brixellum, or Bresello.

⁴ *Reputantibus*, "comparing." Compare cap. xxxviii., ante: "veterum novorumque morum reputatio."

⁵ *Competisse*, "synchronize;" "*conceourir*" (Burnouf); "*concorde*" (Louandre); "*zusammentreffen*" (Meiser and Heræus). Compare Pliny, xvi. 191:

"Si *competant coitus* (lunæ) in novissimum diem brumæ."

⁶ The *Posticum.* Compare Horace, *Epist.*, i.-v. 31:

"Atria servantem postico falle clientem."

As already pointed out, the elegance and refinement of Tacitus are most noteworthy. For the vulgar *posticum* he adopts the paraphrase of "*per aversam domus partem.*"

⁷ Rubrius Gallus had been sent by Nero against Galba, but had seceded to the latter. He subsequently played the part of negotiator between Cæcina and Flavius Sabinus.

forthwith obtained their pardon;¹ while the troops under the command of Flavius Sabinus² effected their reconciliation through that general.

LII. War had ceased all along the line, but many senators were in extreme jeopardy, as they had left Rome with Otho,³ and had then remained at Modena.⁴ Jeopardy of the senators at Modena. News of the defeat went thither, but the soldiers spurned it as false, for they deemed the Senate hostile to Otho, played eavesdroppers to their conversations, and put sinister constructions on their looks and dress.⁵ Eventually they sought in insults and vituperation a pretext for incipient massacre,⁶ while the senators were harassed by the superincumbent fear lest, with the party of Vitellius in full ascendant, they might seem to have welcomed victory grudgingly. So 'twixt a cross fire of panic and perplexity they met; no one would formulate an individual plan, but every one took refuge in numbers and co-partnership in error. The town council⁷ of Modena deepened their anxiety by tender-

¹ There is no necessity to follow Bekker, who punctuates thus: "*tulit. Et venia statim impetrata concedentibus*," κ.τ.λ. I agree with Meiser that the words "*et venia statim impetrata*" are closely and inherently connected with the preceding "*preces Rubrius Gallus tulit*;" nor can one dispute the accuracy of Walther, who points out that the ablative absolute "*concedentibus ad victorem*" does not touch the antecedent words, but merely marks a contemporaneous event. Accordingly Louandre translates, "Le pardon leur fut accordé, et en même temps *Sabinus* remit au vainqueur les troupes qu'il commandait."

² *Flavius Sabinus*, consul elect, referred to in cap. xxxvi., *ante*, is not to be confounded with Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian.

³ *Profecta cum Othone ab urbe* (see *ante*, Book I. lxxxviii.).

⁴ *Mutina*. The modern Modena, east of Reggio, between Piacenza and Rimini.

⁵ *Vultum habitumque trahere in deterius*, "put a sinister construction on their looks and dress." *Habitus* here means "dress," as in Juvenal, ii. 124:

"Segmenta et longos *habitus* et flammea sumit."

See also Livy, xxiii. 34. 6: "Punicus cultus *habitusque* suspectos legatos fecit Hannibalis." So Horace, *Sat.*, ii. 7. 54:

"Tu cum projectis insignibus, anulo equestri
Romanoque *habitu*, prodis ex iudice Dama
Turpis."

The absence of mourning attracted the attention of the soldiery.

⁶ *Causam et initium cædis quærebant*. "Ein vorwand um ein Blutbad zu beginnen" (Hersæus).

⁷ *Ordo Mutinensis*. The town council of *Modena*. *Ordo*, written alone without a designative pronoun or adjective, indicates a municipal town council as contradistinguished from *his ordo*, the Roman Senate. Thus we find the inscription "ORDO SPLENDIDISSIMUS COLONIÆ ABELLINATIUM," inscr. M. Lat. N. 1180. See Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, new edit., vol. ii. p. 296, tit. "Ordo."

ing arms and money, and greeting them by the ill-timed title of Conscript Fathers.

LIII. There was a startling altercation when Licinius Cæcina¹

Licinius Cæcina attacks the informer, Marcellus Eprius. News of Otho.

attacked Marcellus Eprius² as a political trimmer. The other senators were quite as dark; but the name of Marcellus, recalling loathsome memories of the informer and his odious reputation, had spurred Cæcina, yet untried, to win his maiden reputation in the Senate 'gainst conspicuous adversaries.³ Wiser counsels stayed the quarrel, and all returned to Bologna⁴ for a second consultation, looking forward meanwhile for further news. / At Bologna couriers were posted at every stage to cross-question each fresh arrival, and when Otho's freedman was asked why he had left, he replied that he bore his master's last instructions. His master, he said, was still indeed alive when he left, but thought only of the future, and had severed the ties of life's allurements.⁵ Thereupon they were awe-stricken⁶ and ashamed to further question. Forthwith public opinion shifted towards Vitellius.

LIV. His brother, Lucius Vitellius, was present at the

False news. Terror of the senators.

conference, and was already open to flattery, when Cœnus, a freedman of Nero, suddenly dismayed them all by an outrageous lie, asserting that the Fourteenth Legion, just arrived, reinforced by the troops at Bresello, had routed the former victors, and that the Vitellianist fortunes were changed. The object of this story was to ensure that Otho's passports,⁷

¹ *Licinius Cæcina*. Nowhere else mentioned by Tacitus.

² *Titus Clodius M. F. Eprius Marcellus*. The notorious informer employed by Nero (*Annals*, xvi., 22, 28, 33) to act with Capito Cossutianus as prosecutor of the illustrious Thrasea Pætus. For this infamous business the two informers received from Nero each 5,000,000 sesterces, or more than £40,000 apiece (*Annals*, xvi. 33). Marcellus finally became implicated in a charge of conspiracy against Vespasian, and committed suicide. He figures much in the *Dialogue on Oratory*; nor, notwithstanding his infamy, was his claim to eloquence ever disputed.

³ *Magnis inimicitiiis*. The abstract for the concrete, as in Book I. cap. ii., *ante*, we have *magna adulteria*, "her nobles adulterers."

⁴ *Bononia*. Now Bologna, seat of the famous university, south-east of Modena.

⁵ *Abruptis vitæ blandimentis*. Compare *Annals*, xv. 64: "Deinde oblata mitiore spe blandimentis vitæ evictam."

⁶ *Admiratio* here corresponds to the Greek θαυμάσιον.

⁷ *Diplomata Othonis*, "Otho's passports." "*Staatsempfehlungsschreiben, Patente*" (Meiser). "*Chartæ duplicatæ, διαπραξα, evectioes*." *Diploma* was the technical term for the official permission of the emperor or provincial governor to an individual

which were losing credit, might regain their validity upon favourable news. And so Cœnus reached Rome by rapid relays, but a few days afterwards was executed by order of Vitellius. The belief of Otho's soldiers in the authenticity of these announcements augmented the Senate's jeopardy, and the terror was intensified inasmuch as they, the Senate, had left Modena and abandoned the Othonianist party with all the formality of a public resolution.¹ They met no more in common, but studied their individual interests, until a letter² from Fabius Valens removed their alarm. The glory of Otho's death, too, made it travel all the faster.

LV. But Rome was undisturbed, and the games of Ceres³ attracted the usual attendance. When authentic information reached the theatre that Otho was emperor no more,⁴ and that all the troops in Rome

Reception of the news in Rome. The Senate decree the usual honours.

to use the post, which was first established by Augustus. Its use was strictly guarded, it was of limited duration, and the name and seal of the emperor were essential formalities (see new edit. of Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, vol. i. p. 641, tit. "Diploma"). Meiser refers to Plutarch, *Galba*, viii.: τῶν ὑπᾶτων οἰκέτας δημοσίους προχειρισμένων τὰ δόγματα κομίζοντας τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ τὰ καλούμενα διπλώματα σεσημασμένα δόντων, ἃ γνωρίζοντες οἱ κατὰ πόλιν ἔρχοντες ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὀχημάτων ἀμοibaῖς ἐπιταχύνουσι τὰς προπομπὰς τῶν γραμματεφφῶρων, κ.τ.λ.

¹ *Publici consilii facie*. "Specie; nam non ut privati pro se quisque Mutina discesserant, sed ex senatus decreto, ac Bononiæ rursus in commune congressi erant" (Meiser).

² *Epistula*, "a letter." Post-classical, and based on the classical *litteræ*. Hence I translate *Historiæ* as "History."

³ *Ceriales ludî*. Celebrated annually from the 12th to the 19th of April, and on the last day there were games in the Circus. Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 391, *et seq.*:

"Circus erit pompa celebr, numeroque Deorum;

Primaque ventosis palma petetur equis.

Hi *Cereris ludî*; non est opus indice causæ:

Sponte Deæ munus, promeritumque patet.

Messis erant primis virides mortalibus herbæ,

Quas tellus, nullo sollicitante, dabat:

Et modo carpebant vivaci cespite gramen;

Nunc epulæ tenera fronde cacumen erant."

Compare *Annals*, xv. 53, 74; Livy, xxx. 39.

⁴ *Cessisse Othomem*. That Otho was emperor no more. This is the reading of the Medicean MS., and is preferable to any of the emendations suggested, such as the *cecidisse* of Heræus and Petersen, or the *conocessisse* of Ritter, or the *excecidisse* of Wölflin. *Cedere*, without the addition of *vitâ*, does not mean "to die," but "to abdicate," *cessisse imperio*. Meiser appositely cites iii. 66: "Quod si tam facile suorum mentes flexisset *Vitellius* quam ipse *cesserat*," and iii. 68: "*cedere* se pacis et rei publicæ causa." At the same time there is the *souppon* of death, and none of the critics have pointed out that, the announcement being made at the festival of the

had received from Flavius Sabinus, city prefect, the oath of fealty to Vitellius, the spectators applauded; the people bore Galba's effigies, garlanded with bays and blossoms, round the temples, and piled their wreaths into a memorial mound¹ near the basin² of Curtius, at the spot dyed with the murdered prince's blood. The Senate forthwith decreed all the honours elaborated during long and earlier reigns, subjoined a special vote of thanks to the German army, and despatched envoys to discharge congratulatory formalities.³ The letter of Fabius Valens to the consuls, couched in a moderate tone, was read; but the senators were more pleased with Cæcina's constitutional spirit⁴ in refraining from official communications.⁵

LVI. Italy, however, was cast under a weight of ills more terrible than war itself. The Vitellianists scattered through her towns and colonies robbed and plundered, dishonoured and desecrated her homesteads: dare-devils⁶ in

Depredations of
the Vitellianists
in Italy.

goddess, a euphemism was necessary—*εὐφημία φάρεϊ*—beyond all question; and thus the reading of the Medicean MS. is strongly supported. I have endeavoured in the translation to catch the double meaning and the euphemism, "*Le roi est mort, vive le roi.*"

¹ *Congestis in modum tumuli coronis.* As lately witnessed on a memorable occasion.

² *Lacum Curti*, "the basin of Curtius;" "*Bassin*" (Hæsus). Compare Plautus, *Curc.*, iv. 1. 16: "*Garruli et malevoli supra lacum.*" See also Horace, *Sat.*, i. 4. 36:

"Et quodcumque semel chartis inleverit, omnes

Gestiet a furno redeuntes scire lacuque."

³ *Quæ gaudio fungeretur.* Full of bitterness; "*amare dictum*," says Orelli, the hollow task of compliments.

⁴ *Modestia* here means a constitutional, law-abiding spirit.

⁵ It was unconstitutional for any one but the emperor to address an official communication to the consuls or Senate.

⁶ *In omne fas nefasque avidi aut venales*, "dare-devils in their greed or corruption." *Fas nefasque* was the formula for including the opposite poles of good and evil, and so it came to signify general totality, like the Greek *ῥητὰ καὶ ἀπόρητα*, and the meaning is well expressed by Andocides, *De Mysteriori*, i.: *τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῶν ἐμῶν, ὥστ' ἐμὲ κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου καὶ δικαίως καὶ ἀδίκως.* Compare Horace, *Epod.*, v. 87 (Orelli, new edition by Hirschfelder):

"Venena maga non fas nefasque, non valent

Convertere humanam vicem."

There the meaning is "even witchcraft cannot turn *fas* into *nefas*, nor alter the laws of retribution." That is, the *positive* can never become the *negative*; the ideas are antagonistic, and, as Plato tells us, must be for ever opposed to each other and completely sundered. So those who discard *fas nefasque*, discard everything, and become *dare-devils*. Orelli, in his admirable *Excursus* on the above passage in Horace, gives many synonymous forms of expression, as in Pindar, *Ol.*, ii. 15: *Ἐν δίκῃ τε καὶ παρὰ δίκαν*; Æschylus, *Coeeph.*, 78: *Δίκαια καὶ μὴ δίκαια*; Aristophanes,

their greed or corruption, they spared nothing sacred or profane. Some, too, donned uniform to slay their private enemies; and the soldiers themselves, familiar with the country, marked well-stocked farms and their rich proprietors for loot or, in case of resistance, for destruction, while their generals were subservient and timorous. Cæcina was less greedy, but courted popularity more; whereas Valens was so disreputable and sordid a huckster that he was inclined to cloak the fault in others. The resources of Italy had long been wasted, and such an array of infantry and cavalry, with its attendant train¹ of violence, destruction, and outrage, was well-nigh unendurable.

LVII. Vitellius meanwhile, unconscious of victory, was forcing up² the residue of the German army as if war were in full swing. A few veterans remained in winter quarters, while the levies were sped through Gaul to fill the skeletons³ of the legions left behind. The left bank of the Rhine⁴ was entrusted to Hordeonius Flaccus, and Vitellius reinforced himself by a *corps d'élite*⁵ of eight thousand men drawn from the army in Britain.⁶ After a few days' march, he received news of the victory at Bedriacum and the termination of the war by Otho's death, and, summoning a parade, he heaped praises on the valour of the troops. Although the army requested him to knight his freedman Asiaticus, he rebuked the shameless flattery; then, with characteristic weakness, he bestowed at a private banquet what he had publicly refused, and decorated

Vitellius receives news of the victory of Bedriacum.

Plut., 233: καὶ δικάως καὶ δίκως: Vergil, *Georg.*, i. 505: "Ubi fas versum atque nefas;" *Æn.*, ix. 595: "Digna atque indigna relatu;" xii. 811: "Digna indigna pati." So Tacitus, *Hist.*, iii. 51; *Annals*, ii. 28; xv. 37. It is likewise to be noted that in the passage under comment we also have "*non sacro, non profano abstinebant*," which is also a synonymous form for expressing totality; so that Tacitus shows these Vitellianists to be doubly desperate.

¹ *Vis damnaque et injuriæ* are epexegetical of *tantum peditum equitumque*, as rightly pointed out by Walther: "per ἐπεξηγησάω adponi."

² *Trahebat*, "was forcing up;" "*suchte an sich zu ziehen*" (Heræus).

³ *Nomina*, "skeletons" (*cadres*); "*die Rahmen*" (Heræus).

⁴ *Ripa*. The left bank or Roman side of the Rhine *par excellence*.

⁵ *Delecta*, "*corps d'élite*."

⁶ These 8000 men were drafted from the three legions in Britain—II. Augusta, IX. Hispana, XX. Valeria. See *post*, cap. c.: "*Cum vexillariis trium Britannicarum legionum*;" and iii. 22: "*Cum vexillis nonæ secundæque et vicensimæ Britannicarum legionum*."

with equestrian rings Asiaticus,¹ a base caitiff² and corrupt intriguer.

LVIII. Contemporaneously came the news that Albinus, the procurator, had been slain, and that Algiers, Fez, and Morocco³ had joined Vitellius. Lucceius Albinus, appointed by Nero governor of Algiers, had had his jurisdiction extended by Galba over Fez and Morocco, and wielded no despicable power—nineteen cohorts, five squadrons of cavalry, and an immense Moorish contingent⁴ well schooled in predatory and guerilla warfare. Upon Galba's death Albinus favoured Otho, and, dissatisfied with African domination, threatened Spain, which was merely severed by a strait. Thereupon Cluvius Rufus became anxious, and ordered the Tenth⁵ Legion to the coast as if for transport. He sent on centurions to enlist Moorish sympathies for Vitellius—an easy task, as the German army was renowned throughout the provinces. Moreover, 'twas whispered broadcast that Albinus scorned the title of procurator, and affected the kingly crown and name of Juba.⁶

LIX. A revulsion of feeling ensued, and Asinius Pollio, captain of horse, devoted to Albinus, and Festus and Scipio, commanders of the auxiliary infantry, were slain. Albinus himself, who was sailing from Fez and Morocco to Algiers, was cut down at the moment of landing.⁷ His wife threw herself between him

Murder of Albinus. Vitellius sails down the Saône to Lyons. Meets Valens and Cæcina. Honours for his infant son, "Germanicus."

¹ *Honoravitque Asiaticum anulis.* Compare I. xiii., ante, where Galba bestowed similar honours on Icelus: "Nec minor gratia Icælo Galbæ liberti, quem *anulis donatum equestri nomine Marcianum vocitabant.*" Orelli gives interesting inscriptions, one of which I subjoin:

"T. AVRIDIO.—AB. INVICTISSIMO. IMP. NOSTRO. TRAIANO.—IN. ORDINEM. EQVIT. ROMAN. ADSCITO"—*Inscr. m. Lat. n. 3049.*

² *Fædum Mancipium*, "a base caitiff." *Mancipium* is here used to express the slavish and degraded nature of the *libertus*.

³ *Utramque Mauretanium.* *Mauretania Cæsariensis* comprised Algiers, and *Tingitana* included Fez and Morocco.

⁴ *Ingens Maurorum numerus aderat, per latrocinia et raptus apta bello manus.* The Kabyles and Bedouins, as famous then as now.

⁵ *Gemina.* The renowned and favourite legion of Julius Cæsar. This legion, with the VI. Victrix, formed the garrison of Spain.

⁶ *Juba.* "Celebratum Mauretaniæ regum nomen per *Jubam I.* Pompeianum illum atque *Jubam II.*, doctissimum principem, patrem *Ptolemæi*, ultimi Mauretaniæ regis, a *Caligula* occisi" (Orelli).

⁷ *Adpulsu litiori*, "at the moment of landing." "Statim in ipso adpulsu ad

and the assassins and perished with him, while Vitellius closed his eyes to everything around him. He skimmed through the most important business, wholly unequal to serious work. He ordered the army to proceed by land, whilst he himself sailed down the river Saône¹ with no imperial *entourage*, but as notably needy as of yore,² until Junius Blæsus, governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, of noble lineage and as rich as he was generous, provided court officials³ and a splendid retinue, but thereby displeased him all the more, although Vitellius masked his hatred under cringing compliments. The generals of both victors and vanquished awaited him at Lyons. He lauded Valens and Cæcina on parade, and seated them on either side of his curule chair. Next he bade the whole army march to greet his infant son,⁴ and, upon his arrival, clad him in the military cloak, pressed him to his heart, hailed him "Germanicus," and decorated him with all the badges of the heir apparent. The excessive honours of prosperity proved a solace in adversity.⁵

LX. Then Otho's bravest centurions were executed, and that especially turned the armies of Illyricum against Vitellius, while the other legions took the contagion from them, and, in their hatred of the German army, brooded over war. Vitellius kept Suetonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus in miserable suspense as un-

Execution of Otho's bravest centurions. False defection of Paulinus and Proculus. Honour bestowed on Celsus. Galeria screens Trachalus.

litus" (Orelli). Meiser refers to Livy, xxvii. 30. 7: "Ut Attalium . . . portibus et litorum *adpulsu* arceret." He observes, "*Adpulsu* sine præpositione dictum est, ut *adventu*, *discessu*, similia; nam Medicei *petiti* inde ortum videtur, quod librarius falso *petiti*—*litoris* junxit." Compare Thucydides, i. 108. 5: ἐν ἀποβάσει τῆς γῆς.

¹ *Arar*. Then subsequently called the *Sauconna*—hence the modern Saône, which flows into the Rhone at Lyons.

² *Vetere egestate conspicuus*. Meiser cites Suetonius, *Vitellius*, vii.: "Satis constat exituro viaticum defuisse, tanta egestate rei familiaris, ut uxore et liberis, quos Romæ relinquebat, meritorio cænaculo abditis, domum in reliquam partem anni ablocaret, atque ex aure matris detractum unionem pigneraverit ad itineris impensas."

³ *Principi ministeria*, "court officials;" "*die Hofämter*" (Hæraus). These were (1) the comptroller (*procurator a rationibus*; *das Rechnungsamt*); (2) the secretary of state (*a libellis*; *das Eingabenamt*); (3) the private secretary (*ab epistulis*; *das Kabinetsekretariat*)—Hæraus.

⁴ *Infanti filio*, who was on his way from Rome.

⁵ *Solacium*. Not to the poor lad, who was slain next year by order of Mucianus, but to the friends of Vitellius.

kempt supplicants,¹ until at length they obtained audience and availed themselves of an expedient rather than a truthful defence. They actually claimed credit² for treachery, attributing to their own fraudulent design the weary march before the battle, the exhaustion of Otho's troops, the intermixture of commissariat and regulars, and many other merely accidental circumstances. Vitellius took them traitors at their word, and acquitted them of the crime of loyalty³ to Otho. Otho's brother, Salvius Titianus, went scot free on the double plea of fraternal devotion and poltroonery. The consulship of Marius Celsus was⁴ ratified, but it was generally believed and subsequently charged against Cæcilius Simplex in the Senate, that he had been anxious to purchase that office even at the expense of Celsus' life. Vitellius rejected the offer, and subsequently bestowed on Simplex another consulship untarnished and unpurchased. Galeria, wife of Vitellius, screened Trachalus⁵ from his accusers.

LXI. 'Mid the perils of the great, one Mariccus (shameful to relate!)⁶ from the dregs of Bourbonnais,⁷ had the hardihood, guised as a false prophet, to force himself

A Bourbonnais
impostor.

¹ *Tristi mora squalidos tenuit.* Compare Cicero, *pro Sest.*, § 144: "In hoc misero squalore et sordibus;" and *In Verrem*, v. § 128: "Aspicite, iudices, squalorem sordesque sociorum." Heræus cites Livy, xlv. 19. 7: "*Sordidati, barba et capillo promisso;*" and also *Just.*, iv. 4. 1: "*Sordida veste, capillo barbaque promissis et omni squaloris habitu ad misericordiam commovendam acquisito contionem deformes adeunt.*" From these passages it would appear that dishevelled garb and unkempt hair and beard were some of the devices used to win pity for the accused.

² *Proditionem ultro imputabant*, "they actually claimed credit for treachery." *Imputare*, as already pointed out, is a mercantile expression, indicating that one person has credited himself and debited another, thus leaving a balance of obligation in his own favour—hence the metaphor of "claiming credit."

³ *Fidem absolvit*, "acquitted them of the crime of loyalty." Compare i. 59, *ante*: "Centuriones . . . occidi jussit damnatos fidei crimine, gravissimo inter desciiscentes."

⁴ *Mario Celso consulatus servatur.* It has been well observed by Meiser, that Tacitus plainly indicates by his silence that the noble and true-hearted Marius Celsus never debased himself in the unworthy manner of Suetonius and Licinius Proculus, and consequently won the respect even of Vitellius.

⁵ *Galeria* was the kinswoman of Galerius Trachalus, the famous advocate and orator, of whose florid and characteristic eloquence we have already read in I. xc., *ante*.

⁶ *Pudendum dictu!* This little exclamation speaks volumes of politics. Tacitus was an aristocrat, a conservative, and, consequently, a republican. The grand old spirit of Cato, Cicero, and the conservative-republican party still breathed in the historic prætor of Domitian.

⁷ *E plebe Botorum*, "from the dregs of Bourbonnais." The Boii, originally a Celtic

on Fortune's stage,¹ and challenge the armies of Rome. Already posing as champion of Gaul and a self-entitled god, he had gathered eight thousand men, and was seeking to enlist² the cantons round Autun, when that very matter-of-fact³ people with a chosen band of youths, supported by Vitellianist infantry, scattered the mob of fanatics. Mariccus was captured in the engagement, was soon afterwards exposed to wild beasts,⁴ and, because he escaped without a scratch, was deemed invulnerable by the stupid populace, until he was slain in the presence of Vitellius.

LXII. There was a cessation of rigour towards the Othonianist rebels⁵ personally, as well as of all confiscation at large. The wills of those who had fallen in battle for Otho were ratified, and, in the event of intestacy, there was due administration. Had Vitellius restrained his luxury, nobody need have apprehended avarice from him. He was a disgusting and in-

Gluttony of Vitellius. Banishment of the astrologers. Stringent penalties against the practice of Roman knights appearing publicly in the arena.

race, at a remote period migrated from Gaul in two swarms—one crossing the Alps and settling between the Po and Appenines; the other crossing the Rhine and occupying that part of Germany called after them *Boihemum*, or *Bohemia*, that is, *Boiheim*, the home of the Boii. These Boihemians, or Bohemians, were finally driven out of Germany by the Marcomanni (see Tacitus, *Germania*, xlii.), and after the defeat of the Helvetians (among whom the Boihemians, or Bohemians, had settled after their expulsion from Germany) by Julius Cæsar (B.C. 58), Cæsar allowed them to settle in the neighbourhood of the Ædui (*Autun*), represented by the modern Bourbonnais, between the Allier and the Loire. See Cæsar, *De Bel. Gal.*, i. 28: "*Boios potentibus Æduis, quod egregia virtute erant cogniti, ut in finibus suis collocarent concessit; quibus illi agros dederunt quosque postea in parem juris libertatisque conditionem atque ipsi erant receperunt.*" See also vii. 10, where they are termed *stipendiarii Æduorum*. See Smith's *Clas. Dict.*, tit. "Boii." See also the new Orelli, *Germania*, cap. xlii., edited by Schweizer-Sidler, and also Church and Brodribb's edition.

¹ *Inserere sese fortunæ.* Compare *Annals*, vi. 2: "Cum repente *Togonius Gallus*, dum *ignobilitatem suam magnis nominibus inserit*, per deridiculum auditur."

² *Trahebat.* Was seeking to enlist the sympathies of, to win the support of. This is the correct meaning, and is so given by Burnouf: "Il entraînait les cantons des Éduens les plus à sa portée." It is true that in *Annals*, iii. 74, *trahere* is used in the sense of plundering, but there the context requires that meaning. But our meaning is found *post*, cap. lxxvi.: "Pannonici exercitus Dalmaticum militem *trazere.*" So also iii. 44; and Livy, x. 18. 2.

³ *Gravissima*, "matter-of-fact." Compare Cicero, *De Rep.*, 1. 3: "In *gravissimam civitatem nostram*," which he compares to the "*levitati Atheniensium.*"

⁴ *Feris objectus.* Maiser cites Paulus, *Dig.*, xlviii. 19; xxviii. 2: "Auctores seditionis et tumultus, populo concitato, pro qualitate dignitatis aut in furcam tolluntur, aut *bestiis subiciuntur*, aut in insulam deportantur."

⁵ *Defectores.* The Othonianist rebels. Inasmuch as Otho had revolted from

satiable gourmand; ¹ appetizing dainties were fetched him from Rome and Italy, creating a bustling traffic from the Adriatic and Etruscan seas; local magnates were beggared by the banquets they should furnish him, and the states themselves were eaten up; the soldiers turned idle and dissolute through habitual dissipation and contempt for their general. He posted an edict to Rome, postponing the title of Augustus and declining that of Cæsar, without foregoing any of his powers. The astrologers were banished Italy, ² and stringent penalties precluded Roman knights from disgraceful personal exhibitions in the gladiatorial training-schools ³ or the arena. Former princes had subsidized and more frequently compelled ⁴ such displays, and many towns and colonies had outbid each other in luring with their fees the most licentious youths.

LXIII. But Vitellius, on his brother's arrival and under the insidious schooling of tyranny's preceptors, waxed proud and cruel, and ordered the execution of Dolabella, who, as already mentioned, ⁵ had been banished by Otho to

Vitellius orders
the execution of
Dolabella.

Galba and murdered him, Otho and his followers were rebels in relation to Galba's legitimate successor, Vitellius. Ferlet, Burnouf, and Walther wrongly apply *defectores* to the followers of Mariccus. Hærus rightly observes, "*Defectores sind in den Augen des Vitellius Othos Anhänger.*" So also Meiser: "*Othonianos, quos defectores Vitellius judicabat, quod Galba occiso a se, quasi legitimo successore, desceivissent.* Male Ferlet, Burnouf, Walther explicant de Maricci adseclis; verba hæc aptum faciunt transitum ad seqq. *rata fuere* cet., quem dirumpit illa interpretatio neque vero adeo splendidæ paganorum illorum facultates esse poterant, ut operæ pretium fuisset memoriæ tradere, in eas Vitellium non sævisse. Præterea rem conficiunt, vv. *nec ultra*, id est, "ut ante in Othonianos sævitum erat."

¹ Vitellius was a *gourmand*, not a *gourmet*.

² *Pulsi Italia mathematici*. The reason is given by Suetonius, *Vitellius*, xiv.: "Exacerbatus, quod post edictum suum, quo jubebat intra Kal. Octobr. urbe Italiaque mathematici excederent, statim libellus propositus est, 'Et Chaldaeos dicere, bonum factum, ne Vitellius Germanicus intra eundem Kalendarum diem usquam esset.'" The astrologers, however, like Old Moore's Almanack, were sometimes wrong, as Vitellius lived beyond the limit fixed by them.

³ *Ludo et arena*. *Ludus* was a gladiatorial training-school. So *Juvenal*, viii. 199: "Hæc ultra quid erit, nisi ludus?" and xi. 20: "Sic veniunt ad *miscellanea ludi*" —the hodge-podge, the training messes of the gladiatorial training-school.

⁴ Nero compelled and subsidized knights thus to degrade themselves (A.D. 59). *Annals*, xiv. 14: "Notos quoque equites Romanos operas arenæ promittere subegit donis ingentibus, nisi quod merces ab eo, qui jubere potest, vim necessitatis adfert." See also Suetonius, *Nero*, xii. Caligula encouraged the same degrading tastes. Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius repressed this habit. Later on Commodus himself fought in the arena.

⁵ I. 88, *ante*: "Sepositus per eos dies *Cornelius Dolabella* in Coloniam Aquinatem,

Aquino.¹ Dolabella, upon news of Otho's death, had entered Rome. Plancius Varus, ex-prætor, one of Dolabella's closest friends, charged him with this before Flavius Sabinus, city prefect, as involving a breach of parole² and a bid for the leadership of the Opposition, and subjoined a count for tampering with the civic cohort³ at Ostia; and, when these serious charges proved groundless, stricken by remorse, he prayed, too late after his treachery, for Dolabella's pardon. Flavius Sabinus was staggered by the grave responsibility, until Triaria, wife of L. Vitellius, a woman of masculine fierceness, warned⁴ him not to play the good-natured man at the emperor's peril. Sabinus, naturally compassionate, but pliable under pressure of fear, and loth to risk his neck for a neighbour's, hurried⁵ Dolabella to his doom that there might be no semblance of partiality.

LXIV. So Vitellius, in fear and hate, for Dolabella had forthwith⁶ married his divorced wife Petronia,⁷ summoned him by letter, and bade him avoid the Flaminian thoroughfare,⁸ turn aside to Terni, and there abide his death. The executioner grew impatient, and in a wayside inn struck his victim down and murdered him, to the deep discredit of the new reign, of which this was the first known

Murder of
Dolabella.
Model women—
Galeria and
Sextilia.

neque arta custodia neque obscura, nullum ob crimen, sed vetusto nomine et propinquitate Galbæ monstratus."

¹ *Colonia Aquinas*. *Aquinum*, the modern Aquino, in Latium.

² *Rupta custodia*. I translate this as "a breach of parole," because Dolabella was a state prisoner (*neque arta custodia neque obscura*) simply in charge of a magistrate at Aquino (see i. 88, ante).

³ *Cohortem, quæ Ostiæ ageret*. The seventeenth civic cohort at Ostia (see i. 80, ante, and note).

⁴ Ernesti compares the familiar—

"*Terruit gentes grave ne rediret.*"

Mr. Spooner also refers to iii. 42, post: "*Ne Galliam temere ingrederetur monendo terruit.*"

⁵ *Impulit ruentem*, "hurried him to his doom." Compare Cicero, *pro Cluent.*, § 70: "*Præcipitantem igitur impellamus, inquit, et perditum prosternameamus.*" Meiser appositely cites Vergil, *Æn.*, iv. 22: "*labantem impulit.*"

⁶ *Moz*. All the critics omit to notice the condensed meaning of the word *moz* here. With more than Tacitean brevity it implies that Dolabella married Petronia the moment Vitellius divorced her.

⁷ Petronia was the first wife of Vitellius, and in all probability the daughter of P. Petronius Turpilianus, consul and proconsul under Tiberius. She was divorced by Vitellius, and her marriage with Dolabella inflamed the hatred of the emperor.

⁸ Mr. Spooner appositely cites *Martial*, x. 6. 6: "*Totaque Flaminia Roma videnda via.*"

sample. The depravity of Triaria, too, was cast into relief¹ when contrasted with the pattern righteousness² of her relative Galeria, the emperor's wife, who held aloof from scenes of shame.³ Of no less excellence was Sextilia, mother of the Vitellii, a lady of the old school. Nay, they tell us that, on receipt of her son's first letter, she exclaimed, "My boy is not Germanicus, but Vitellius."⁴ Nevermore did Fortune's blandishments or civic flattery win⁵ her heart to joy, for she only felt the sorrows of her house.

LXV. Upon the departure of Vitellius from Lyons, Cluvius

Charges against Cluvius Rufus. Vitellius acquits him, attaches him to his retinue, and allows him to govern Spain, although non-resident.

Rufus,⁶ leaving his Spanish government in abeyance, came up with him, and looked full of joy and congratulation, but was troubled at heart, for he knew that charges were levelled at himself. Hilarius, an imperial freedman, had laid to his charge, that, when he heard of the sovereign struggle between Vitellius and Otho, he had been feeling his own way to the purple and the dominion of Spain, and with that view had omitted to entitle the passports⁷ with the name of any emperor. Hilarius, too, construed extracts from his speeches as insulting to Vitellius and

¹ *Onerabat*, "cast into relief." Compare iv. 14, *post*: "*Jussu Vitellii Batavorum juvenis ad delectum vocabatur, quem suapte natura gravem onerabant ministri avaritia ac luxu, senes aut invalidos conquiendo, quos pretio demitterent.*"

² *Modestum exemplum*, "pattern righteousness." *Modestia* means "keeping within the bounds of law."

³ *Non immixta tristibus*. "Non particeps ullius facti aut consilii tristis atque atrocis" (Dübner).

⁴ Meiser here refers us to Dio, *Exc. ed. Sturz.*, ix. 112: Βιτέλλιος ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ καπιτώλιον καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ ἡσπάσατο· ἐκεῖνη δὲ ἐπικύβητος ἦν, καὶ ὅτε πρῶτον ἤκουσεν, ὅτι Γερμανικὸς ἐπεκλήθη ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῆς, εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ μὲν Βιτέλλιον, ἀλλ' οὐ Γερμανικὸν τέτοκα.

⁵ *In gaudium evicta*. A darling phrase of Tacitus. "*Ein Lieblingsausdruck des Tacitus zur Bezeichnung des überwältigten gefühls mit dem Nebengriff des sich Sträubens*" (Heræus), citing *Annals*, i. 57; xi. 37; xv. 64; iv. 57. Also Vergil, *Æn.*, iv. 474: "*Ergo ubi concepit furias evicta dolore.*"

⁶ Cluvius Rufus had already done good service to Vitellius, as described in cap. lviii., *ante*, by skilfully undermining and destroying the Othonianist Luceius Albinus, governor of both Mauretaniae.

⁷ *Diplomatibus nullum principem præscripsisset*. We have already seen in cap. liv., *ante* (where see note), that these *diplomata*—passports, or, perhaps more accurately, free-passes—required the name of the emperor as a condition essential to their validity. The charge against Cluvius Rufus was, that he had left a blank for the imperial name, with the object of filling in his own name if he saw a fair chance of success.

currying favour for himself. The influence of Cluvius, however, was so great, that Vitellius actually ordered his freedman to be punished. Cluvius was attached to the imperial retinue, and allowed to retain his Spanish governorship, although absent, following the precedent of Lucius Arruntius. Tiberius Cæsar had kept the latter by his side through fear, but no such motive inspired Vitellius to retain Cluvius. No such honour was shown Trebellius Maximus,¹ who had been scouted from Britain by his wrathful soldiery. Vettius Bolanus, one of the emperor's retinue, was sent thither in his stead.

LXVI. The spirit, quite unbroken, of the conquered legions made Vitellius anxious. Scattered through Italy, intermingled with the victors, they talked treason, and the Fourteenth² Legion, furious beyond all others, challenged their defeat. " 'Twas only a detachment,"³ they cried, "was routed at the battle of Bedriacum; the strength of our legion was not there." Vitellius determined to send the Fourteenth back to Britain, whence Nero had summoned them, and meanwhile quarter upon them their inveterate⁴ enemies, the Batavian cohorts. Tranquillity soon vanished 'mid such an array of armed hate. At Turin,⁵ whilst a Batavian violently accused an artisan of cheating, and a legionary upheld the man as his billet,⁶ their respective comrades gathered round and passed from brawls to blows. A fierce conflict would have flamed forth, had not two Prætorian cohorts, taking sides with the Fourteenth, inspired them with courage and scared the Batavians. These latter Vitellius attached to his army in recognition of their loyalty, but ordered the legion to cross the Little St. Bernard⁷ and deflect their

Insubordination
of the Fourteenth
Legion.
Vitellius retrans-
ports it to
Britain.

¹ For the flight of Trebellius Maximus, see i. 60, *ante*, and *Agricola*, xvi.

² XIV. Gemina Martia Victrix. The victorious soldiers of Suetonius Paulinus in Britain could ill brook "defeat," especially as the legion itself was not at Bedriacum, but only a detachment.

³ *Vexillaris*, "a detachment;" not, as some erroneously render, "veterans."

⁴ *Ob veterem adversus quartadecimanos discordiam* (see *ante*, i. 59. 64; ii. 27).

⁵ *Augustæ Taurinorum*. Before the time of Augustus, called *Taurasia*, now Turin.

⁶ *Ut hospitem tuetur*, "upheld him as his billet;" "*Quartiergeber*" (Hæmus). Compare iii. 2, *post*: "*Hospitibus metuendos*."

⁷ *Grais Alpibus*. By the Little St. Bernard, the pass taken by Hannibal.

course away from Vienne,¹ for the Viennese too were suspected.² On the night of the legion's departure, part of Turin was destroyed by the scattered and abandoned watch-fires, a loss, like many other evils in the war, blotted out by the greater calamities of other cities. After the Fourteenth had crossed the Alps, the most mutinous mooted a march towards Vienne, but they were restrained by the unanimity of the more orderly, and the legion was landed in Britain.

LXVII. The Prætorian cohorts³ next inspired Vitellius with apprehension. The men were first detached, then soothed by a discharge on full retiring allowance,⁴ and gave up their

Their course to the Little St. Bernard from Turin would be by Ivrea (*Eporedia*), to Aosta (*Augusta Prætoria*), and along the upper valley of the Dora Baltea (*Duria*).

¹ When the Fourteenth Legion had crossed the Little St. Bernard, it would follow the stream of La Récluse down into the valley of the Isère, and then, by Bourg St. Maurice, Moustiers (*Tarantasia*), and Confians, to Montmeilan. Here the *fleus itineris* of the legion is a north-westerly road to Lyons, by way of Chambéry, the lake of Bourget, and the Mont de Chat, near Chevelu. The forbidden road lies south-west, leading through the valley of Grésivaudan, to Grenoble and Vienne.

² See i. 65, *ante*.

³ The Prætorians were Otho's especial favourites, and cherished his memory with affectionate regard. We have seen how they sided with the mutinous Fourteenth Legion against the Batavian cohorts. Full of bitterness against Vitellius, they espoused the cause of Vespasian with enthusiasm and success.

⁴ *Addito honestæ missionis lenimento*, "soothed by a discharge on full retiring allowance." The discharge of the Roman soldier was of three kinds; (1) *honestæ missio*, discharge on full retiring allowance after the completion of the full term of service; (2) *causaria missio*, discharge for physical incapacity or sickness; (3) *ignominiosa missio*, drumming out for misconduct, mutiny, or crime. See *Digest*, xlix. 16. 13: "Missionum generales causæ sunt tres; *honestæ*, *causaria*, *ignominiosa*. *Honestæ* est, quæ tempore militiæ impleto datur; *causaria*, cum quis vitio animi vel corporis minus idoneus militiæ renunciatur; *ignominiosa* causa est, cum quis propter delictum *sacramento solvitur*." We learn what the full retiring allowance was, in the case of *honestæ missio*, from *Dio*, lv. 23: ἐψηφίσθη τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δορυφορικῆ πεντακισχιλίας δραχμὰς, ἐπειδὴν ἑκατὼδε ἔτη, τοῖς δὲ ἑτέροις τρισχιλίας, ἐπειδὴν εἴκοσι στρατεύσανται, δίδωσθαι. It will be thus seen that, at the period in question, the term of service for the Prætorians was sixteen years, and the legionaries, twenty. In the time of Augustus the *legionary* had only to serve sixteen years. This is clearly shown by *Annals*, i. 17: "Nec aliud levamentum quam si certis sub legibus militia iniretur, ut singulos denarios mererent, sextus decimus stipendii annus finem adferret, ne ultra sub vexillis tenerentur, sed isdem in castris præmium pecunia solveretur. An prætorias cohortes, quæ binos denarios acceperint, quæ post sedecim annos penatibus suis reddantur, plus periculorum suscipere?" We also see, from the above passage in *Dio*, that the retiring allowance consisted of a lump sum of, in the case of the Prætorians, 5000 drachmas, or 20,000 sesterces (about £200); and, in the case of the legionaries, 3000 drachmas, or 12,000 sesterces (£120). This

arms¹ to their tribunes, remaining disbanded² until the war started by Vespasian grew apace. Then they re-enlisted, and proved the bulwark of the Flavian party. The First Legion of Marines³ was sent to Spain, there to cool down in peace and quiet; the Eleventh and Seventh returned to their usual winter quarters;⁴ the Thirteenth⁵ were ordered to build amphitheatres. For Cæcina and Valens were preparing to give gladiatorial shows—the one at Cremona, the other at Bologna, and Vitellius was never so busy as to forget his pleasures.

The Prætorians are disbanded, and the Othonianist legions sent in different directions.

LXVIII. Thus indeed he had quietly split up the Othonianist faction;⁶ but in the ranks of the victors arose a mutiny that began in what might be called sport,⁷ but for⁸ the loss of life

allowance Caligula reduced by one-half, and Caracalla raised that of the legionaries to 5000 drachmas. Sometimes land was given instead of this lump sum (see *Dict. Ant.*, vol. i. p. 809, tit. "Exercitus").

¹ *Arma deferebant*. They must have given up their standards also. In iii. 24, *post*, Antonius Primus, addressing the Prætorians, says, "*Illic signa armaque vestra sunt*."

² *Deferebant, donec motum a Vespasiano bellum crebresceret*. Here the logical *lacuna* must be filled up κατὰ σύνεσιν—they gave up their arms, and did not return them (remained disbanded) until the war.

³ *Prima classicorum legio*. Prima Adjutrix Classicorum, "Nero's marines," devoted to Otho.

⁴ The winter quarters of the Eleventh Legion were in Dalmatia (iii. 50, *post*); those of the Seventh, VII. Galbiana, in Pannonia (ii. 86, *post*).

⁵ *Tertiadecimani struere amphitheatra jussi*. Meant as an insult, and treasured up as such.

⁶ The MSS. are here quite at fault, and emendation is a necessity. The Medicean MS. runs thus: "*Et quidem partes modeste distraxerat: apud victores orta seditio ludicro initio, numerus cæsorum invidiam bello auxisset*." Meiser proposes *has partes*, but I prefer the *victas partes* of Haase, as antithetical to *apud victores*. Agricola prefixed *ni* before *numerus*, and all editors have accepted that emendation. Meiser substitutes *belli traxisset* for *bello auxisset*; and Heræus retains *auxisset*, but expunges *bello* altogether. I submit the following version: "*Et victas quidem partes modeste distraxerat: apud victores orta seditio ludicro initio, ni numerus cæsorum invidiam belli auxisset*."

⁷ *Ludicro initio*, "began in sport." Compare *Germania*, xxiv.: "*quibus (juvenibus) id ludicrum est*;" also *Annale*, i. 50.

⁸ *Orta seditio ludicro initio, ni numerus cæsorum invidiam belli auxisset*, "arose a mutiny that began in what might be called sport, but for the loss of life that deepened the horrors of war." This, the version of my friend R. Y. Tyrrell, is the most accurate I am aware of. The word *ni* qualifies and corrects the previous *ludicro initio*—modifies the prior statement. Thus in *Agricola*, vi.: "*Vixeruntque mira concordia, per mutuam caritatem et invicem se anteponendo, nisi quod in bona uxore tanto major laus quanto in mala plus culpæ est*." Still more striking is the passage in *Annale*, xiv. 14: "*Notos quoque equites Romanos operas arenæ promittere*

that deepened¹ the horrors of war. Vitellius had given a banquet at Pavia,² to which he had invited Verginius. Lieutenants-general and tribunes take their cue from the emperor's character, and either rival his austerity or indulge in dissolute³ carousals; and the soldiers follow suit accordingly, either in regularity or insubordination. Under Vitellius all was confusion and drunkenness, more characteristic of midnight revels⁴ and orgies than camp discipline. So two soldiers, one of the Fifth Legion, the other a Gallic auxiliary, vied for sport in a wrestling bout; and, when the legionary was tossed and the Gaul crowed over him, while the ring backed either side, the legionaries made a deadly rush on the auxiliaries, and two cohorts were cut to pieces. A second panic cured the first. Clouds of dust and glistening arms appeared afar. There was a sudden shout that the Fourteenth Legion had wheeled back and were going to charge them; but 'twas only the Vitellianist rear-guard,⁵ which, upon recognition, removed all fear. Meanwhile, a slave of Verginius chanced to meet them, and was charged with the intended assassination of Vitellius, while the soldiery rushed to the banquet, yelling for the death of Verginius. Not even Vitellius, trembling at every whisper of suspicion, could doubt his innocence. Still, he found it hard to restrain the would-be assassins of their consular and

Serious mutiny.
The legions
attack the Gallic
auxiliaries.
Violence towards
Verginius.

subegit *donis* ingentibus, *nisi* quod *merces* ab eo qui *jubere* potest, *vim necessitatis* affert." See G. Andresen's admirable note on *Agricola*, vi.

¹ As already mentioned, I retain the MS. *auxisset*, and read "*invidiam belli auxisset*."

² *Ticinum*. The modern Pavia.

³ *Tempestivis conviviis*, "dissolute carousals;" literally, "early" banquets—commencing before the ninth hour, *i.e.* 2.31 p.m. in summer, and 2.13 p.m. in winter (Hærens). Compare Cicero, *pro Arch.*, § 13, where Mr. Reid in his excellent note refers to Cicero, *ad Att.*, ix. 1. 3, where Cicero speaks of himself as being maligned in *tempestivis conviviis*—*i.e.* in dissolute society. Being early, such banquets were protracted and consequently dissolute. See also *Annals*, xi. 37; and Juvenal, i. 49:

"Exul ab octava Marius bibit et fruitur dis
Iratiss."

⁴ *Pervigilia* were originally religious night-festivals (*παρανοχίες*), as in *Annals*, xv. 44, where see Mr. Furneaux's note; but, as they were frequently made the occasion for immorality, they subsequently acquired an evil meaning.

⁵ *Agminis coactores*, "the rear-guard." "*Qui cogunt, claudunt agmen residuesque ut progrediantur adigunt*—*Nachtrab*—*arrière-garde*" (Meiser). *Coactor* in this sense is not found elsewhere.

former general. Indeed, every mutiny raged against Verginius with exceptional persistency. They still admired the man and his character, yet hated him for spurning the purple that they proffered¹ him.

LXIX. Next day Vitellius, after granting audience to the senatorial envoys whom he had commanded to wait at Pavia, crossed over to the camp and actually extolled the devotion of the regulars, while the auxiliaries growled at this further incentive² to legionary impunity and insolence. The Batavian cohorts, lest they might attempt some fiercer outbreak, were sent back to Germany, and so Fate sowed the seeds of a war civil at once and foreign.³ The Gallic auxiliaries were consigned to their respective states—a vast horde enrolled at the very inception of the revolt as the mere pageantry⁴ of war. Moreover, in order that the imperial resources might stand the drain of state largess, Vitellius ordered the legionary and auxiliary cadres⁵ to be cut down by stopping all recruiting, while discharges were freely offered. That course proved ruinous to the state and irksome to the soldiers, who found the same rounds of duty, with attendant dangers and difficulties, recur all the faster in their attenuated ranks. Their manhood, too, was sapped by an effeminacy opposed to the old discipline and customs of

The Batavians and Gallic auxiliaries disbanded. The strength of the legions and auxiliaries reduced.

¹ See i. 8. 52; ii. 49. 51. Mr. Godley cites the well-known epitaph, "Hic situs est Rufus pulso qui Vindice quondam Imperium adseruit non sibi sed Patriæ."

² *Tantum impunitatis atque adrogantiæ legionariis accessisse*, "at this further incentive to legionary impunity and insolence." So Heræus: "*Dass soviel Vorschub . . . geleistet sei.*" So Mr. Spooner: "That such an additional impulse [as was implied in his encouragement of it] had been given to the impunity and arrogance of the legionaries."

³ The revolt of Julius Civilis, the hero of Batavia, was at once a civil and a foreign war: civil, inasmuch as the allies of Rome—the people of Trèves and Langres, nay, some of the Roman legions—were arrayed under his standard; foreign, because all the Germans east of the Rhine obeyed his mandates. So when Tacitus in i. 2, *ante*, speaks of wars as *plerumque permixta*—often both civil and foreign—he alludes to this revolt of Civilis as well as the Dacian revolt (iii. 46) and the Jewish war. See also iv. 22, *post*: "*Mixta belli civilis externique facie obstupescerant obsessos.*"

⁴ *Inter inania belli*, "the mere pageantry of war." Meiser refers to *Annals*, ii. 76: "*inania famæ*;" *Agricola*, vi.: "*inania honoris.*" Heræus translates, "*Als uesenloses Element des Kriegeres . . . als nutzloser Kriegstross.*"

⁵ *Numeros . . . cadres . . . Rahmen*, "skeleton corps."

our forefathers, whose valour raised Rome on a foundation stancher far than lucre's prop.¹

LXX. Then Vitellius turned aside² to Cremona, and, after witnessing Cæcina's gladiatorial show,³ yearned to visit the field of Bedriacum and gloat over the traces of his recent victory. A loathsome and harrowing sight met his view, as forty days had not elapsed since the battle—lacerated corpses, mutilated limbs, festering shapes⁴ of man and horse, the soil reeking with corruption, trees and crops laid low, dread scene of desolation. Not less rueful was that part of the road strewn by the Cremonese with bays and roses⁵ amid high altars and sacrificial offerings, as if to hail some Eastern despot⁶—momentary festivities soon to end in ruin.⁷ Valens and Cæcina were at hand, and pointed out the scenes of action: "Here the serried legions made their onslaught; here the horse charged; there the auxiliaries outflanked the foe." Now tribunes and prefects,⁸ sounding each his own trumpet, jumbled

The Golgotha of
Bedriacum.
The irony of
Fate.

¹ *Apud quos virtute quam pecunia res Romana melius Stetit.* Tacitus must have had in his mind the immortal line:

"Moribus antiquis stat res Romana virisque."

² *Cremonam flexit*, "turned aside to Cremona." He left the Æmilian way, which led straight from Pavia (*Ticinum*) to Bologna (*Bononia*), and turned off eastwards by the Postumian road to Cremona.

³ *Munere, scilicet, gladiatorio.* "*Fechterspiel*" (Heræus). In their admirable note on Cicero, *pro Sest.*, § 124 (*munus Scipionis*), Doctors Holden and Reid point out, "Down at least to the end of the republic the *ludi gladiatorii* were always *ludi funebres* in theory, though the person in whose honour they were ostensibly given might have been very long dead. They were not exhibited by public magistrates till the time of Augustus, who revoked the arrangement, after which it was resumed by Claudius." See also Heræus, *ad loc.*, and Servius on Vergil, *Æn.*, iii. 67; v. 78; Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, new edit., vol. ii. p. 85.

⁴ *Virorum equorumque formæ.* In the presence of death Tacitus uses the language of his favourite Virgil, *Æn.*, vi. 277: "Terribiles visu formæ, Letumque Labosque;" 289: "*Forma tricorniporis umbræ.*" See also *Annals*, ii. 24: "*Ambiguis hominum et beluarum formas.*"

⁵ *Rosa.* Collectively for *rosæ*, as in Horace, *Carm.*, I. v. 1: "*Quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa;*" *Martial*, viii. 87. 2: "*Liber in æterna vivere digne rosa;*" Vergil, *Æn.*, xii. 68:

"Aut mixta rubent ubi lilia multa
Alba rosa."

⁶ *Regium in morem*, "as if to hail some Eastern despot" (R. Y. Tyrrell). So Heræus, "*Wie bei orientalischen Despoten.*"

⁷ *Mox perniciem ipsis fecere*, "soon to end in ruin." By the sack and annihilation of Cremona, described in iii. 32.

⁸ *Præfecti.* "*Cohortium auxilium et alarum*" (Heræus).

falsehoods, facts, and fancy. The private soldiers, too, with shouts of exultation, crossed over, recognized the course¹ the battle took, and gazed in wonder on the piles of arms and heaps of slain. Nay, life's chequered scenes drew tears of sympathy from some. But Vitellius never blenched nor quailed at sight of all those thousands of unburied countrymen. Ay, he revelled,² and, blind to his hovering doom, hallowed holidays for Bedriacum's gods.³

LXXI. Next, an exhibition of gladiators was given by Fabius Valens at Bologna with properties⁴ from Rome. The nearer Vitellius approached the capital, the more debauched became his progress, 'mid troops of actors, herds of eunuchs, and all "the fancy"⁵ of Nero's court. For Vitellius used to be loud in his admiration for Nero, and follow him on his concert⁶ tours, not through constraint, like many a stainless victim, but as the slave and vassal⁷ of luxury and

Dissolute progress of Vitellius towards Rome. Candidates for consulships.

¹ *Spatia certaminum*, "the course the battle took." Compare Ennius: "Sicut fortis equus *spatio* qui sæpe supremo;" Vergil, i. *Georg.*, 513: "*Addunt in spatia*;" Tacitus, *Orator*, xxxix.: "Nobiles equos cursus et *spatia* probant;" *Lucretius*, vi. 91; "Currenti *spatium* præmonstra." Thus we get the double force and meaning in the words of Orelli, "Ubi coepta esset pugna et ubi finisset"—"the course."

² *Lætus*. Suetonius, *Vitellius*, x., gives details, which Tacitus omits (as elsewhere) as beneath the dignity of history: "Horrentes quosdam cadaverum tabem detestabili voce confirmare ausus est: '*Optime olere occisum hostem, et melius civem.*' Nec eo secius ad leniendam gravitatem odoris plurimum meri propalam hausit passimque divisit."

³ Irony worthy of Sophocles! He revelled on his own destruction and made sacrifice to the gods of Bedriacum, his own *Diis manibus*. Little he dreamt that the Flavian avenger was at hand!

⁴ *Ex urbe cultu*. With properties, stage or circus accessories, from Rome. So Heraeus: "*Die Einrichtung, namentlich die Fechteranzüge.*"

⁵ *Cetero Neronianæ aulae ingenio*, "all 'the fancy' of Nero's court"—that is, buffoons and charioteers *et hoc genus omne*. *Ingenium* means the natural characteristic, and is here caustically used by Tacitus to describe what in modern parlance is called "the fancy"—fit name for Nero's gang. So Heraeus: "*Das sonstige Wesen, das ist, die andern charakteristischen Figuren, als scurræ, aurigæ.*" Compare lxxxvii., post: "Adgregabantur e plebe flagitiosa per obsequia Vitellio cogniti *scurræ histriones aurigæ*, quibus ille amicitiarum dehonestamentis mire gaudebat."

⁶ *Cantantem*. On his concert tours. Compare *Annals*, xiv. 14: "Nec minus fœdum studium cithara *ludicrum in modum* canere;" and xiv. 15: "Postremum ipse scœnam incedit, multa cura temptans citharam et præmeditans assistentibus phonascis" (see also xvi. 4). Mr. Godley refers to these passages, and also to Juvenal, viii. 224.

⁷ *Mancipatus emptusque*, "the slave and vassal." Meiser cites Dübner, *ad loc.*; "Dici solet *venditus emancipatusque*; amarius est *emptus*: quem lux et sagina lenociniis emerant ac suum fecerant."

gluttony. To clear the calendar of office¹ for Valens and Cæcina, other consulships were curtailed, and that of Marcus Macer, as being an Othonianist general, ignored. Valerius Marinus, too, though nominated consul by Galba, was postponed gratuitously as soft and supine, whilst Pedanius Costa was left in the cold as distasteful to the emperor for rising against² Nero and inciting Verginius, but diplomatic reasons were assigned; and, to cap all, a vote of thanks was passed to Vitellius with customary servility.

LXXII. A lying concoction, although started with a spurt,³ died away after even a few days. There arose an adventurer,⁴ who announced himself as Scribonianus Camerinus,⁵ and pretended that, scared by Nero's reign of terror,⁶ he had secreted himself in Histria,⁷ where the old Crassi still retained dependants, estates, and the glamour of

An Impostor
detected and
executed.

¹ See *ante*, i. 77, and note. There were, in all, fifteen consuls in this memorable year, A.D. 69, A.U.C. 822, the "*longus et unus annus*;" it was indeed an *annus mirabilis*. I venture to take from Carolus Meiser the following list: January 1-15, Galba and Vinius; January 30 to March 1, Otho and Titianus; March and April, Verginius and Pompeius Vopiscus; May and June, Cælius and Flavius Sabinus; July and August, Arrius Antoninus and Marius Celsus; September and October, Cæcina and Valens; for one day, October 31, Rosius Regulus; November and December, Cæcilius Simplex and Quintius Atticus.

² *Ausus*. For rising against Nero. *Audere* is also taken absolutely in *Annals*, iv. 59, and *Hist.*, *post.*, v. 11.

³ *Acribus initii ceptum*, "started with a spurt." Compare *Annals*, vi. 17: *Acribus*, ut ferme talia, *initii*, incurioso fine."

⁴ *Quidam*, "an adventurer." Used contemptuously for the man whose name was Geta.

⁵ *Scribonianus Camerinus*. In all probability the same as the Sulpicius Camerinus mentioned by Dio, lxxiii. 18: 'Εν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ὁ Ἕλιος ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ εἰργάσατο, καὶ Σουλπίκιον Καμερίνον, ἄνδρα τῶν πρώτων, μετὰ τοῦ νείους ἀπέκτεινεν. Regulus, the informer, had made charges against Camerinus under Nero. See Pliny, *Epist.*, i. 5: "Agnosceis eloquentiam *Reguli*. Lacerat Herennium Senecionem, tam intemperanter quidem, ut dixerit ei Mettius Carus 'Quid tibi cum meis mortuis? Numquid ego *Crasso* aut *Camerino* molestus sum?' quos ille sub *Nerone* accusaverat." If this Crassus Scribonianus Camerinus took his name from a Scribonia, as did Galba's adopted son, Piso Licinianus, then both must have belonged to the Scribonianian branch of the Crassi, and were consequently relatives.

⁶ *Neronianorum temporum metu*, "scared by Nero's reign of terror." Compare i. 49, *ante*: "*Metus temporum* obtentui, ut quod segnitia erat sapientia vocaretur."

⁷ *Histria*. Originally included in Illyricum, was constituted by Augustus as a division of Upper Italy, separated from Venetia on the north-west by the river Timavus, and from Illyricum on the east by the river Arsia (see Smith's *Clas. Dict. Biog. Myth. and Geog.*, tit. "Histria").

their name. Accordingly he formed a cast of scoundrels for the plot in the comedy,¹ and the gullible populace and some of the soldiery, either in ignorance of the reality or eager for revolution, were beginning to flock around him enthusiastically, when he was dragged before Vitellius and asked, who in the world² was he? When he proved unable to give a satisfactory account of himself, and was identified by his master as a runaway slave named Geta, he suffered the death of a slave.³

LXXIII. Hard it is to credit or describe how Vitellius waxed in arrogance and sloth when scouts⁴ from Syria and Judæa announced that the East had sworn allegiance unto him. For though the news as yet was but shadowy and dim, still Vespasian was on the lips⁵ and tongues of men, and many a time and oft the sound of his name used to startle Vitellius from his lethargy. But now emperor and army, as if without a rival, suddenly plunged⁶

Vitellius, imagining that he has no rival, plunges into Eastern excesses.

¹ *Deterrimo quoque in argumentum fabulæ assumpto*, "he formed a cast of scoundrels for the plot in the comedy." A theatrical metaphor. *Argumentum* is the technical term for the plot of a play or comedy, of which the *dramatis personæ* in this instance were a cast of scoundrels, the corresponding Greek terms being *ῥόδοις* and *τὰ τοῦ ᾄδματος πρόσωπα*.

² *Quisnam mortalium esset*, "who in the world was he?" "*Was für ein Menschenkind?*" (Hæsus).

³ *Supplicium in servilem modum*. The torture and the cross. See *Annals*, iii. 50: "*Ne serviles quidem cruciatus in eum suffecerint*." Mr. Furneaux has an excellent note on "*locum servilibus pœnis sepositum*" in *Annals*, xv. 60: "The spot is situated outside the Esquiline Gate, and is called *Sessorium* by the old Scholiast on Horace, *Epod.*, v. 100, and *Sat.*, i. 8-11; whence also *Ξεσώριον* is now read for the corrupt *Ξηρέριον* in Plut., *Galb.*, xxviii."

⁴ *Speculatores*, "scouts." The *speculatores* were the emperor's body-guard, like our Life Guards, the *Guides* of Napoleon, or "*die Hundertgarden des Kaiserreichs*." They were sometimes employed as couriers, or scouts, as in the text. Both Meiser and Hæsus cite the well-known passage in Suetonius, *Caligula*, xlv.: "*Magnificas Romam litteras misit montis speculatoribus, ut vehiculo ad forum usque et curiam pertraherent nec nisi in sede Martis ac frequente Senatu Consulibus traderent*."

⁵ *Erat tamen in ore famaque Vespasianus*. Compare the noble lines of Ennius:

"Nemo me lacrimis decoret, neque funera fletu

Faxit. Cur? *Volito vivi per ora virum*."

⁶ *Proruperant*, "suddenly plunged." The pluperfect indicates sudden action and completion. So in cap. v., *ante*: "*Exitu demum Neronis positis odiis in medium consulere, primum per amicos, dein præcipue concordiae fides Titus prava certamina communi utilitate aboleverat*." Mr. Spooner, in commenting on this passage, most happily and appositely cites Vergil, *Æn.*, ii. 254:

"Et jam Argiva phalanx instructis navibus ibat

A Tenedo, tacitæ per amica silentia lunæ

into all the cruelty, lust, and rapine of an Eastern race.¹

LXXIV. But Vespasian oft took a bird's-eye view of his chances² in armed conflict, and of his resources afar and at hand. The soldiery were so attached³ to him that, when he dictated the oath and prayed "All hail"⁴ to Vitellius, they listened in silence. The feelings of Mucianus were not estranged from Vespasian, but were more inclined towards Titus. Tiberius Alexander,⁵ governor of Egypt, had joined the Flavian party. The Third Legion⁶ Vespasian counted on as plighted to him, inasmuch as they had just passed from Syria into Moesia, and it was hoped the other legions in Illyricum⁷ would follow suit. Besides, the whole Eastern army was aflame at the insolence of the Vitellianist soldiery come amongst them; for, grim in aspect and speaking a savage jargon, they scoffed at all as underlings. But the vast burden of a gigantic war gave pause full oft; and Vespasian now

*Litora nota petens, flammas cum regia puppis
Extulerat."*

¹ *In externos mores.* "*Asiatischer Despotien und Kriegsvölker*"—Hærus, citing *Annals*, iv. 35: "*Externi reges, aut qui eadem ævittia usi sunt.*" So Walther: "*Hoc est ipse cum militibus cœpit agere externorum regum more, qui non legibus, sed ut libitum regnant.*"

² *Circumspectabat.* Compare i. 55, *ante*: "*Initium erumpendi circumspectabant.*" So iii. 73: "*Fugam et fallendi artes circumspectabant.*" So Livy, xxi. 39. 5: "*circumspectantes defectionis tempus.*"

³ *Paratus*, "attached," "devoted." Compare Horace, *Epod.*, i. 1:

"Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium
Amice, propugnacula,
Paratus omne Cæsaris periculum
Subire, Mæcenas, tuo."

⁴ *Fausta Vitellio omnia precantem.* So the Medicean MS. (*omnia*), and rightly, "All hail." "*Lauter Heil und Segen*"—Hærus, who cites iv. 49: "*Magna voce læta Pisoni omnia tamquam principi continuare;*" Plautus, *Rud.*, iii. 2. 25: "*Equidem tibi bona optavi omnia;*" Terence, *And.*, i. 1. 70: "*Patri omnia bona dicere;*" Livy, xxiv. 16. 10: "*Cum . . . bona omnia populo Romano Gracchoque ipsi precarentur;*" xxxi. 7. 15: "*Læta omnia prosperaque portendere.*" It is quite clear, therefore, that Lipsius was wrong in his emendation of *omina*, and that Walther and Bach were wrong in following him.

⁵ *Tiberius Alexander.* See i. 11, *ante*, where the term *regebat* is used, and we also find "*Equites Romani obtinent loco regum.*"

⁶ III. Gallica. Had been in Syria under Mucianus. The forecast was correct, as will be seen in cap. lxxxv., *post*.

⁷ There were now six legions in Illyricum. There had been seven, but one, the XIV. Gemina Martia Victrix, had, as we have seen, been sent (caps. lxvi., lxxvi., *ante*) to Britain. For the names and numbers of the other legions, see i. 9, *ante*.

soared in hope, now weighed¹ the hazards of defeat: "Woe worth the day that I commit my sixty² years of life and my two youthful sons to war's arbitrament! Subjects³ may choose each rung upon Ambition's ladder⁴ and seek for Fortune's favours,⁵ more or less, according to their bent, but the imperial votary hath no resting-place⁶ 'twixt pinnacle and perdition."

LXXV. Oft had he in his mind's eye and knew, trained soldier⁷ that he was, the strength of the German army. "His own legions," he felt, "had not been tested in the civil war, those of Vitellius were victors, whilst the vanquished Othonianists evinced more discontent than energy. Discord had sapped⁸ the soldier's sense of honour, and danger lurked in each single hand. Of what avail battalions or squadrons, if one or two assassins should seek the blood-money of treason's quick despatch?⁹ So fell Scribonianus¹⁰ in

On the brink of
the Rubicon.

¹ *Reputabat*, "weighed," "compared." See ii. 38, *ante*: "Veterum novorumque morum reputatio;" also ii. 50, *ante*: "*tempora reputantibus*."

² Suetonius, *Vespasianus*, iii.: "*Vespasianus natus est XV. Kal. Decembr. vespere Q. Sulpicio Camerino, C. Poppæo Sabino consulibus quinquennio ante quam Augustus excederet*;" i.e. A.D. 9, A.U.C. 762. Meiser points out that, by deducting 762 from the date of the year in the text, 822, the age of Vespasian is at once verified as 60.

³ *Privatus*, as in i. 49, *ante*, should be translated "subject."

⁴ *Cogitationibus progressum*. May choose each rung upon Ambition's ladder. It is wholly unnecessary to add *regressum* with J. Müller, Weissenborn, and Heræus. I agree with Meiser that *upward progress* is alone spoken of, and that the meaning is that *subjects* can mount to any step or degree they like, whereas *imperial aspirants* have no such choice. I also agree that *progressus* is here equivalent to *gradus progrediendi* (*abstusungen*), that is, gradations, degrees, or, as I translate, *rungs*.

⁵ *Plus minuve sumi ex fortuna*. "*Nehme man sich mehr oder weniger aus der Hand des glücks*" (Heræus).

⁶ *Nihil medium*, "hath no resting-place;" "*Mittelstufe*" (Heræus).

⁷ Suetonius (*Vespasianus*, iv.) tells us that the future emperor had served in numberless expeditions, both in Germany and Britain, and in every capacity, subordinate and supreme.

⁸ *Fluxam per discordias militum fidem*. Discord had sapped the soldier's sense of honour. *Fluxa*, "on the wane," "falling to pieces," "sapped," as in i. 21, *ante*: "Dum Galbæ auctoritas fluxa, Pisonis nondum coaluisset," "while Galba wanes, ere Piso strengthens." So iii. 48; "*Fluxa, ut est barbaria, fide*;" iv. 23: "*Fluxa servitiorum fides*."

⁹ *Præsentī facinore*, "treason's quick despatch;" "*durch eine augenblickliche Unthat*" (Heræus).

¹⁰ *Scribonianus*. See i. 89, *ante*: "*Scriboniani contra Claudium incepta simul audita et coercita*." Camillus Scribonianus was consul with Cn. Domitius in A.D. 32, A.U.C. 785 (see *Annals*, vi. 1). In *Annals*, xii. 52, we read, "*Camillus arma per Dalmatiam moverat*;" and in Suetonius, *Claudius*, xiii.: "*Bellum civile movit M. Furius Camillus Scribonianus, Dalmatis legatus; verum intra quintum diem*

the days of Claudius, and so¹ his assassin, Volaginius, was raised from the ranks to the highest command. Far easier is it to rouse the million than to 'scape one murderer's dirk."

LXXVI. As he wavered 'neath these fears, other officers and friends sought to uphold his resolution, and Mucianus² too, after many private interviews,³ addressed him publicly⁴ likewise thus :

"All who undertake enterprises of great pith and moment, should appraise⁵ the public advantage, the personal credit, the feasibility or, assuredly, the impracticability⁶ of the project in hand. Another factor is the character of the adviser. Will he guarantee his opinion by personal risk? Who, again,⁷ should the venture prosper, is to take the prize?

"Vespasian! I summon thee to empire! With what blessings to the state, with what glory to thyself, rests, under Heaven, in thine own hand. Dread not what seems like flattery.⁸ Choice next Vitellius would border on⁹ insult rather than on compliment. 'Tis not 'gainst that keenest¹⁰ intellect of blessed Augustus, nor

oppressus est"—A.D. 42. Meiser points out the variant narrative of Dio, lx. 15: 'Ο μὲν . . . ἐφυγε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰσσαν τὴν νῆσον ἐλθὼν ἐν ταῦθα ἐκοσμίος ἀπέθανεν.

¹ *Sic . . . sic.* "Posterior *sic* habet quod offendat, quia speciem præbet, quasi duo diversa exempla proferantur. Sed utrumque *sic* ad ea quæ dixit referri potest. Explicet enim: *sic*, scilicet, unius facinore, *sic* . . . scilicet, præmio ex diverso parato" (Meiser).

² Mucianus, profound statesman (*insignis πολιτικός*), brilliant orator, opens, like all true artists, in a quiet vein.

³ *Post multos secretosque sermones*, "after many private interviews." *Secretos* is in contrast to the subsequent *coram*, or public utterance before witnesses. With all respect, I cannot agree with Heræus that these private communications were made through intermediaries.

⁴ *Coram*, "openly," "publicly," "before witnesses." Meiser cites Walther: "*Coram* est palam, multis audientibus et quasi in publico" (see *Annals*, vi. 8).

⁵ *Æstimare debent*, "should appraise." *Æstimare* is to form the judgment of an expert, or *appraise*, and is used to denote the *diagnosis* of doctors in iv. 81, *post*: "Postremo *æstimari* a medicis jubet an talis cæcitas ac debilitas ope humana superabiles forent."

⁶ *Arduum sit*, "the impracticability" (*δυσχερές*).

⁷ *Et, cui*, "Who, again." The implied words, *considerandum est*, must be taken from the prior *considerandus est* (Meiser).

⁸ *Nec speciem adulantis expaveris*, "Dread not what seems like flattery" (R. Y. Tyrrell).

⁹ *A contumelia quam a laude propius fuerit*, "would border on insult rather than on compliment." Compare i. 10, *ante*: "Mucianus tam prope *ab ezule* fuit quam postea *a principe*." Meiser rightly terms this *exquisitior φδοῖς*.

¹⁰ *Acerrimam mentem*, "the keenest intellect." *Acer*, from the Indo-European root

'gainst the all-wary eld of Tiberius, nay, not even 'gainst the old imperial stock of Gaius, Claudius, or Nero, that we are rising. Thou didst yield even to Galba's pedigree. Further lethargy and the abandonment of thy country to shame and destruction would savour of the dullard and the coward, even if thy bondage were safe in proportion to thy dishonour. The time hath sped, sailed past, for 'seems,'¹ safe semblance of ambition. The throne itself is now thy only sanctuary.² Dost thou forget the butchery of Corbulo? His lineage, no doubt, transcended ours in lustre, but so did Nero surpass Vitellius in nobility of origin. The man who fears finds mark enough in the object of his fear. Besides, Vitellius himself, feather-bed soldier, unknown to fame, but wafted³ on hate for Galba, furnishes forth proof that the

ak, Sanscrit, *ācu*, Gr. *ἀκὺς*, denotes "quickness," "sharpness," "keenness," "subtlety." Thus *Lucretius*, i. 70 :

"Sed eo magis *acrem*
Irritat animi virtutem ;"

also ii. 1041 :

"Sed magis *acri*
Judicio perpende."

So Cicero, *de Oratore*, ii. 87 : "Neque tam *acri memoria* fere quisquam est ;" *ibid.* : "*Acerrimum* autem ex omnibus nostris sensibus esse *sensum videndi*." Augustus had all the keenness of the sleuthhound.

¹ Quo posses *videri* concupisse. All the force of the passage is centred in *videri*. Compare the immortal poet in *Hamlet* :

"Seems, madam! Nay, it is; I know not '*seems*.'"

Such the language ; and the meaning is this : "Under other emperors you might run the risk of *seeming* ambition, of *semblance* of ambition, because you were not then in 'the running,' and ran no risk of death on the grounds of such suspicion. But now *tout cela est changé*. You are so well in the running with Vitellius that *suspicion, seeming, or semblance* of ambition means death, and your only chance is to seize upon the throne." I cannot, therefore, follow the emendation of Ruperti and Madvig, "*Quo posses videri non cupisse* ;" nor that of Heræus, "*Quo posses videri concupisse aut non cupisse*." I entirely agree with Walther : "*Videri concupisse* opponitur sententiæ, quam intelligendam Mucianus relinquit. Volebat dicere : '*abiit tempus quo posses videri concupisse* ; nam eo usque nunc rerum profectus es, ut nemo dubitet te re vera concupiscere, ut non possis falsam arguere speciem et suspicionem. Nihil jam aliud tibi reliquum est, quam ut fugias ad imperium.' So too Louandre : Il est passé, il est loin de nous, ce temps où tu pouvais paraître ambitionner l'empire. Il faut te réfugier dans la souveraine puissance."

² *Confugiendum est ad imperium*, "the throne itself is now thy only sanctuary." Compare Ovid, *Trist.*, iv. 5. 5 :

"Qui veritus non es portus aperire fideles,
Fulmine percussæ confugiumque rati."

Also *ibid.* v. 6. 2 : "Qui mihi confugium, qui mihi portus eras."

³ *Galbæ odio propectus*, "wafted on hate for Galba." A nautical metaphor. Compare Vergil, *Æn.*, iii. 72 : "*Provehimur portu terræque urbesque recedunt*."

army can choose its own prince. Nay, even¹ Otho, who was conquered, not by strategy or the army's valour, but by his own premature despair, is now made an object of regret and glory by this man Vitellius, who scatters² his legions, disbands his cohorts, and sows fresh seeds for war each day. All the fire and spirit of his troops are dulled in dens, debauches, and copying their prince. Thou hast nine legions³ in Judæa, Syria, Egypt, fresh, not worn by fighting, not sapped by mutiny, but enured to the field and victors in a foreign war. Thou art strong in fleets,⁴ auxiliary horse and foot. Thou hast most loyal allied kings and thine own unrivalled experience.

LXXVII. "I make no claim⁵ save that thou place me not lower than Valens and Cæcina. Yet scorn not Mucianus as thy comrade, because thou findest in him no rival! I rank myself before Vitellius, but yield precedence unto thee. Thy house enjoys the lustre of a triumph⁶ and thy two youthful sons, one already of imperial stamp,⁷ who won his spurs amid these very hosts of

¹ *Ne Othonem quidem victum.* The negative must be taken with the participle *victum*, and not with Otho.

² *Spargit legiones*, "scatters his legions." Compare iii. 46, *post*: "Vitelliano exercitu, quem spargi per provincias, pars consilii pacisque erat."

³ *Novem legiones.* "Three in Judæa (V. Macedonica, X. Fretensis, XV. Apollinaris); four in Syria (IV. Scythica, VI. Ferrata, XII. Fulminata, III. Gallica); two in Egypt (III. Cyrenaica, XXII. Deiotariana)."

⁴ *Classium* (compare iv., *ante*). The fleets were of Pontus, Syria, and Egypt. Orelli refers to an inscription, "*Classis Syriaca* (Inscr. Lat. N. 3605)."

⁵ *Nihil . . . adrogabo*, "I make no claim." Compare i. 30, *ante*: "*Nihil adrogabo mihi nobilitatis aut modestiæ.*" The word derives its force from the technical legal term *adoptio per populum* or *arrogatio*. This form involved the adoption of a male person *sui juris* and above the age of puberty, after an inquiry before the priests and a bill or *rogatio* passed by the curiæ. The effect of the *arrogatio* was to vest the present and future property of the arrogated person in his new and adoptive father. Hence the force of the word *adrogare*, "to claim or make title." See *Digest.*, i. 7. 2: *Adrogatio dicitur, quia et is, qui adoptat rogatur id est interrogatur, an velit eum, quem adoptaturus sit, justum sibi filium esse, et is qui adoptatur, rogatur, an id fieri patietur?*"

⁶ *Tux domui triumphale nomen.* In the reign of Claudius, A.D. 43, Vespasian, at the head of the Second Legion, had engaged the enemy on thirty different occasions, and had been awarded *triumphalia ornamenta*. See Suetonius, *Vespasianus*, iv.: "Claudio principe . . . in Britanniam translatus tricies cum hoste confligit; quare *triumphalia ornamenta* et in brevi spatio duplex sacerdotium accepit."

⁷ *Capax jam imperii alter*, "one already [Titus] of imperial stamp." Compare i. 49, *ante*: "Et omnium consensu *capax imperii*, nisi imperasset," and note; also ii. 1, *ante*: "*Titi ingenium quantæcumque fortunæ capax.*"

Germany¹ at the outset of his military career.¹ Strange indeed would it be were I not to concede the purple to the father whose son I would adopt were I emperor myself.² But our rank shall vary in good and evil fortune. For, if victorious, it will be for thee to determine my reward; whereas in difficulty and danger we shall be copartners.³ Nay, better still; do thou rule thine own⁴ armies here, and leave the war and hazard of the fray to me.

"Even now the vanquished are in sharper⁵ discipline than the victors. The former are fired to valour by rage, hate, hankering for vengeance; the latter are being dulled by arrogance and insolence. War itself will open and lay bare the hidden and festering⁶ sores of the successful party. Nor do I trust more in thy watchfulness, thrift, and wisdom than in the lethargy, ignorance, and ruthlessness of Vitellius. But our chances rest on war rather than peace, for those who debate upon revolt are already rebels in fact."⁷

¹ *Apud Germanicos quoque exercitus clarus.* Titus served under his father when the latter commanded a legion in Germany (Suetonius, *Tit.*, iv.).

² *Cujus filium adoptaturus essem, si ipse imperarem.* Compare v., ante: "*Titus . . . natura atque arte compositus alliciendis etiam Muciani moribus.*"

³ *Partiemur*, "we shall be copartners." So I read with Puteolanus, whose emendation is approved by Meiser for the Medicean MS. *patiemur*. The whole force and meaning of the passage necessitates this emendation. Compare Vergil, *Æn.*, xi. 509:

"Sed nunc, est omnia quando

Iste animus supra, mecum partire laborem."

⁴ *Tu tuos exercitus rege.* So Th. Kiessling, followed by Meiser, for the *tuos exercitus* rege of the Medicean MS. Puteolanus reads, *tu hos*; Nipperdey, *tu tutus*; Heræus, *tu tuto*. The last two will not stand analysis, as the suggestion would be an insult to the brave Vespasian. The meaning is, "Do you be commander-in-chief and direct the operations here [like Von Moltke], and leave the active work of carrying out your instructions to me."

⁵ *Acriore . . . disciplina.* Compare note on *acer* in preceding chapter; the subsequent *hebescent* is the antithesis.

⁶ *Contacta et tumescuntia . . . vulnera*, "the hidden and festering sores;" τὰ ὑποῦλα. Compare Sophocles, *Œd. R.*, 1396:

Κάλλος κακῶν ὑποῦλον ἐξεθρέψατε.

Professor Jebb's note is admirable: ὑποῦλον, a sore festering beneath an οὐλή, or scar, which looks as if the wound had healed. He refers to Plato, *Gorg.*, 480b: τὸ νόσημα τῆς ἀδικίας ὑποῦλον τὴν ψυχὴν ποίησει καὶ ἀνιάτον; also to *Thucyd.*, viii. 64: ὑποῦλον αὐτονομίαν—an expression which perhaps Mr. Balfour may understand, but which no doubt either Professor Jebb or Mr. Gladstone will explain to their constituents. Meiser appositely quotes Demosthenes, *Philipp.*, i. 44: ἐθρήσει τὰ σαθρὰ τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων αὐτὸς ὁ πόλεμος.

⁷ *Nam qui deliberant, desciverunt.* Compare Cicero, *Off.*, iii. § 37: "*In ipsa enim*

LXXVIII. After the oration of Mucianus, all took heart, gathered round Vespasian, encouraged him, and recalled the answers¹ of seers and the movements of the constellations.² Nor was Vespasian proof 'gainst such superstition, for afterwards, when lord of the world, he openly retained one Seleucus, an astrologer, as his guide and prophet. Omens of yore rushed back upon his memory. A cyprus tree of notable height in his domain had suddenly fallen, and, rising next day on the selfsame spot, bloomed aloft with broader³ shade than ever. All the soothsayers agreed this was a mighty omen of success and portended brightest lustre to Vespasian, then quite a boy. But at first he thought his triumph, consulship, and glorious victory over the Jews had fulfilled⁴ the omen's promise; then, after those successes, he believed it pointed to his imperial destiny. Mount Carmel⁵ rises between Judæa and Syria. Such is the name both of the mountain and the god—a god, as old tradition tells us, without image or temple; nought hath he save an altar and its awe.⁶ As Vespasian was sacrificing there, and meditating on his secret hopes, the priest, Basilides,

Omens and
auguries.

dubitatio facinus inest, etiam si ad id non pervenerint;" also Plutarch, *Galba*, iv. : τὸ γὰρ ζητεῖν, Νέρωνι εἰ πιστοὶ μενούμεν, ἤδη μὴ μερόντων ἐστίν.

¹ *Responsa vatium*, "the answers of seers." The technical term *consulta responsaque*—the *brief* and *opinion* of counsel thereon—equally applies to the *questions put* to and the *answers given* by either oracles or soothsayers. Hence "*mag-nisque consultis adunere*" in ii. 4, *ante*, means "assenting to the momentous questions put."

² *Siderum motus*, "the movements of the constellations." Compare Macrobius, *Somn. Scip.*, i. 14 : "Sunt stellæ quidem singulares . . . quæ non admixtæ aliis solæ feruntur; sidera vero, quæ in aliquod signum stellarum plurium compositione formantur, ut Aries, Taurus, Andromeda, Perseus, vel Corona."

³ *Latiior virebat*. Triller has proposed *lætior* as an emendation, but wrongly, as Tacitus translates the Greek ἀμφιλαφεστέρα by *latior*.

⁴ *Implese fidem ominis*, "had fulfilled the omen's promise." Satisfied and completely discharged its promise.

⁵ *Carmelus*. Mount Carmel, the famous mountain (Κάρμηλος : *Jebel-Elyas*) rising 1200 feet above the Mediterranean over the valley of the Kishon near Antilibanus, in the tribe of Asher; not to be confounded with the other Mount Carmel on the western shore of the Dead Sea, in the tribe of Judah.

⁶ The God is not Beelzebub, or Baalzebub (the fly-god), the idol of the Philistines at Ekron, because *he had a temple there*, and of this god the historian says, "*Nec simulacrum deo aut templum.*" Neither was it Dagon, the national god of the Philistines (half man, half fish), for he too had temples at Gaza and Ashdod. Nor can we think of Ashtoreth or Derketo (the fish-goddess), the female counterparts of Baalzebub and Dagon. This god, who had neither temple nor image, but only

first oft scanned the entrails,¹ and then addressed him thus : "Vespasian ! whatever be thy design, be it to raise a mansion, or extend thy lands, or swell the number of thy slaves, thou hast vouchsafed to thee a great abode, vast boundaries, many men." The world had forthwith seized on these dark sayings, and now applied the key—the theme of every tongue. The discussion was more constant still before Vespasian, for details interest aspirants.

LXXIX. With minds made up they parted, Mucianus for Antioch,² Vespasian for Cæsarea,³ the respective capitals of Syria and Judæa. The first move in the transfer of empire to Vespasian was made at Alexandria by the zeal of Tiberius Alexander, who swore the legions into his allegiance on the 1st of July—afterwards celebrated as "the birthday"⁴ of his reign, although the

July 1, A.D. 69
—A.U.C. 822.
Vespasian proclaimed emperor at Alexandria.
The "birthday" of his reign.

an altar and its awe, was in all probability Civa, the *war-god* of the Philistines, according to the learned researches of Hitzig, colleague of Carolus Meiser, in his *Urgeschichte und Mythologie der Philistæer*, pp. 285, 294 (Leipsic : 1845), in which he demonstrates the great antiquity of this war-god.

¹ *Inspectis identidem extis*, "oft he scanned the entrails." Thus proving that the god was a heathen deity far removed from the worship of Jehovah. Meiser admirably notes that the inspection of entrails was wholly foreign to the religion of the Jews, as that form of worship is only once mentioned in the Old Testament, and there of a foreign king. In Ezek. xxi. 21, we read, "For the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination : he made his arrows bright, he consulted with images, he looked in the liver"—where the Vulgate has *exta consuluit*, which Arnheim translates, as in our own version, "*beschauet die Leber*."

² *Antiochia Epidaphnes*, or *ad Orontem*. Ἀντιόχεια ἐν τῷ Ὀρόντῃ, the modern Antakia, capital of Syria and greatest city of the East. It was situated on the left bank of the Orontes, in the lovely valley 'twixt the ranges of Amanus and Casius. At Antioch was first heard the name of "Christian," as recorded in Acts xi. 26 : "And the disciples were called *Christians* first at Antioch." The luminous page of Gibbon pictures its splendour : "A magnificent temple rose in honour of the god of light ; and his colossal figure almost filled the capacious sanctuary, which was enriched with gold and gems, and adorned by the skill of the Grecian artists" (Murray's edit., vol. iii. p. 167, cap. xxiii.). Destroyed by Chosroës in A.D. 540, it was restored by Justinian under the name of *θεομνηταίς*.

³ *Cæsarea, Cæsariæ*. The Roman capital of Judæa, as contradistinguished from Jerusalem, the Jewish capital. "*Hierosolyma genti caput*" (v. 8, *post*). It was formerly called *Stratonis Turris* (Στρατωνος πύργος), but Herod the Great changed the name to Cæsarea in honour of Augustus, B.C. 13. Its destruction by Firmus the Moor, in A.D. 372, is recorded by Gibbon, Murray's edit., vol. iii. p. 273, cap. xxv.

⁴ *Primus principatus dies*, "the birthday of his reign." Meiser cites Spartianus, *Hadrian*, iv. : "*Tertium iduum earundem quando et natalem imperii statuit celebrandum*."

army of Judæa had taken the oath in his presence on the 3rd of July with such enthusiasm, that they would not even await his son Titus, who was returning from Syria¹ as special envoy from Mucianus to his father. The movement was quite spontaneous on the part of the soldiery, for there were neither packed meetings² nor military combinations.

LXXX. 'Mid the quest for the time, the place, and, hardest of all in such a crisis, the first word; amid heart-revolving hopes, fears, calculations, hazards, as Vespasian issued from his chamber, a few soldiers, the usual and formal general's guard of honour,³ hailed him emperor: then all rushed up, greeted him as Cæsar and Augustus, and heaped all the imperial titles upon him. Their minds had passed from fear to confidence in fortune.⁴ Vespasian himself displayed no inflation, no insolence, nought of the new man amid novelties. As soon as he brushed aside the dizzying mist of the imperial pinnacle,⁵ he spoke with the curtness of a soldier, and hearkened to the flow of universal congratulation. For, moreover, this was the very opportunity Mucianus had watched for, and forthwith he plighted the enthusiastic soldiery as liegemen of Vespasian. He then entered the theatre at Antioch, where they used to hold conference, and addressed the throng of flatterers, for he spoke with considerable grace and eloquence in

Vespasian as
emperor.
Eloquence and
skill of Mucia-
nus at Antioch.

¹ *Syria remeans*. The omission of the proposition is frequent in Tacitus. See *Annals*, i. 3: "remeantem Armenia;" ii. 69: "Ægypto remeaus;" iii. 11: "rediens Illyrico."

² *Parata contione*, "packed meetings." This is the clear meaning, as shown by *Annals*, xi. 35: "Incensumque et ad minas erumpentem castris infert, *parata contione militum*; apud quos præmonente Narcisso pauca verba fecit; nam etsi justum dolorem pudor impediēbat, *Continuus dehinc cohortium clamor nomina reorum et pœnas flagitantium*."

³ *Solito adstantes ordine ut legatum salutaturi*. The watch in the Roman camp used to hail the general every morning, and were thus practically a guard of honour. "*Die Wache sollte eigentlich dem Statthalter den gewohnten Morgengruss zurufen*" (Heræus).

⁴ *Fortunam*, "confidence in fortune." A pregnant and rare form of expression.

⁵ *Ut primum tantæ altitudinis obfusam oculis caliginem disiecit*. *Altitudinis* is the brilliant and certain emendation of Triller for the *multitudinis* (*sic*) of the Medicean MS. Compare Livy, xxvi. 45. 3: "Quidam stantibus scalis, *cum altitudo caliginem oculis offudisset*, ad terram delati sunt;" also Curtius, vii. 6. 2 (cited by Meiser); "*Oculis caligine offusa*;" also Ovid, *Trist.*, i. 3. 13:

"Ut tamen hanc animo nubem dolor ipse removit,
Et tandem sensus convaluere mei."

Greek too, and possessed the peculiar¹ art of setting off every utterance and action in the most becoming light. Nothing so inflamed the provincials and the army as the declaration of Mucianus, that Vitellius had resolved to transfer the German legions to the rich and idle service in Syria, and to transport² the Syrian legions to a life of hard labour in the bleak winter quarters of Germany. For the provincials, on the one hand, were fond of their old military comrades, and were bound by many ties of friendship and relationship; and the soldiers, on the other hand, loved their dear old camp, scene of their long services, like a second home.³

LXXXI. Before the 15th of July all Syria was plighted in the same fealty. Sohæmus⁴ and Antiochus⁵ with their several kingdoms espoused Vespasian's cause, ^{ALL the East with Vespasian.} the former, at the head of no despicable army, the latter, the possessor of vast hereditary wealth, richest of the dependent kings. Soon, too, Agrippa,⁶ summoned from Rome by the secret

¹ *Arte quadam ostentator*. The word *quadam* is best translated by "peculiar." Tacitus appears to have taken as his model the passage cited by Heraeus from Livy, xxvi. 19. 3: "Fuit Scipio non veris tantum virtutibus mirabilis, sed arte quoque quadam ab juvenia in ostentationem earum compositus."

² *Contra Surianis legionibus Germanica hiberna celo ac laboribus dura mutarentur*. All the critics notice, what everybody knows, that the Latin idiom made *mutare* frequently equal to our "take in exchange," and they all quote Horace, *Carm.*, iii. 1. 47:

"Cur valle permutem Sabina
Divitias operosiores?"

also *Ibid.* i. 17. 1:

"Veloخ amœnum sæpe Lucretilem
Mutat Lycæo Faunus."

So Sallust, *Jugurth.*, liii. 8: "Pro metu repente gaudium mutatur." So in Greek, Plato, *Phædrus*, 241A: Μεταβαλὼν ἄλλον ἀρχοντα. So Euripides, *Medea*, 121: Χαλεπὸς ὄργας μεταβάλλουσιν.

³ These pleasant associations were not unusual. Hence most probably the name *Vetera*, or *Vetera Castra*, "Old Camp," now Xanthen on the Rhine.

⁴ *Sohæmus*, Prince of Emesa, in Syria, and King of Sophene, which latter kingdom lay between Cappadocia and Armenia, and had been conferred upon him by Nero. See *Annals*, xiii. 7: "Regionem Sophenen Sohæmo cum insignibus regiis mandat (Nero)"—where Furneaux's note should be consulted. This prince must not be confounded with another Sohæmus, King of Ituræa, in Northern Palestine, mentioned in *Annals*, xiii. 23.

⁵ *Antiochus*, Seleucid King of Commagene, in Northern Syria, and also of part of Cilicia, was dethroned by Vespasian in A.D. 72, and his kingdom was converted into a Roman province.

⁶ *Herod Agrippa Minor*, brother of Queen Berenice, great grandson of Herod

messages of his friends, was hurrying back in a swift-sailing galley, while Vitellius was still in the dark. No less zealous a partisan was Queen Berenice,¹ in the bloom of youth and beauty,² high in the favour of old Vespasian too,³ through the splendour of her offerings. All the seaboard provinces of⁴ Asia and Achaia, and all the inland tract away towards Pontus⁵ and Armenia⁶ swore homage, but the legates ruled without armies, for Cappadocia⁷ had as yet no legions. A council of state was held at

the Great, grandson of Aristobulus, son of Herod Agrippa Major. This Herod Agrippa Major imprisoned St. Peter, and we read in Acts xii. 23, "And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost." His son, Herod Agrippa Minor, the subject of this chapter in *Tacitus*, was of a different type, for when St. Paul said to him (Acts xxvi. 27), "King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest;" Agrippa answered (Acts xxvi. 28), "Then Agrippa said unto Paul, Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian." And in Acts xxvi. 30 we read, "And when he had thus spoken, the king rose up, and the governor, and Bernice, and they that sat with them." See cap. ii., *ante*, and note. When Titus was sent by Vespasian to Rome (cap. i., *ante*), Agrippa Minor accompanied him, and when Titus turned back at Corinth, Agrippa Minor went on to Rome, whence he was now summoned. Heræus cites *Hegesippus*, iv. 21: "Sententiam novi principis (*Gallæ*) de bello Judæorum sciscitari Vespasiano consilium fuit, misitque Titum filium et regem Agrippam." "Titus de Achaia revertit" (*Hist.*, ii. 1, *ante*), "Agrippa Romam contendit, ut apud novum principem locaret gratiam."

¹ *Berenice*, sister of Herod Agrippa Minor, famed for her beauty and the love of Titus (see cap. ii., *ante*, and note).

² *Florens ætate formaque*. Compare *Dio*, lvi. 15: *Βερενίκη δὲ ἰσχυρὸς τε ἥθει*.

³ *Seni quoque Vespasiano magnificentia munerum grata*. Graceful humour conveying two delicate innuendos. The *quoque* hints that Titus too, as well as Vespasian, had been enchanted by the Eastern siren; and the words "*magnificentia munerum grata*" suggest the ruling passion of Vespasian, of whom we read in cap. v., *ante*, "*Prorsus, si avaritia abesset, antiquis ducibus par*"—but for his avarice, quite a warrior of old. Titus, on the other hand, fell before the "*Ἐρως ἀνίκτερε μάχων*."

⁴ *Asia atque Achaia tenus*. Here *tenus* does not mean "as far as," but "of" or "along"—"so far as Asia and Achaia are concerned." To translate *tenus* in this context by the words "as far as" would convey a sense diametrically opposed to what Tacitus is writing about—Asia and Achaia.

⁵ *Pontus*, constituted a Roman province by Nero in A.D. 62, was bounded on the west by the Halys, on the east, by the Phasis.

⁶ *Armenia*, divided into *Armenia Major* (now Turcomania and Kurdistan) and *Armenia Minor* (now Anatolia). Armenia Minor, or Anatolia, was made a Roman province by Trajan, and Armenia Major was subjected to the revived Persian empire by Artaxerxes I.

⁷ *Cappadocia*, north of Cilicia, between Taurus and Pontus, now Caramania, although made an imperial province by Tiberius in A.D. 17 (*Annals*, ii. 42), was still *inermis*, as if it were a senatorial province. All senatorial, as contradistinguished from imperial, provinces, were *inermes*, but it was only distant and relatively unimportant imperial provinces that were *inermes*, or left without legions. Such an

Beyrout.¹ Thither came Mucianus with legates, tribunes, and the flower² of the centurions and soldiers, as also a *corps d'élite*³ from the army of Judæa. Such a host of foot and horse, such panoply of rival kings, furnished forthwith⁴ a picture of imperial grandeur.

LXXXII. The first heed in the campaign was to work the levies and call out the reserves.⁵ The fortified cities were selected as active arsenals;⁶ gold and silver were coined at Antioch, and every detail pressed forward in its proper place by competent agents. Energy of
Vespasian.
Plans of action. Vespasian in person was everywhere, cheering on the work, stimulating the zealous by his praise, the remiss by his example oftener than by punishment, shutting his eyes to the foibles rather than the merits of his friends. He promoted many to auxiliary commands⁷ and imperial agencies,⁸ and honoured several with senatorial rank, men of distinction soon raised to eminence, whilst some, again,

imperial province was Cappadocia, which was at first placed merely under a *procurator Cæsaris pro legato* (see Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, new edit., vol. ii. p. 498).

¹ *Berytus*, now Beyrout. The full name of *Berytus* was *Julia Augusta Felix Berytus*.

² *Splendidissimo*. That is, glittering with *phaleræ* and *torques*, the flower of the army.

³ *Lecta decora*, "*corps d'élite*." Compare cap. xi., ante: "*Speculatorum lecta corpora*."

⁴ *Effecerant*, "furnished forthwith." Note the force of the pluperfect tense.

⁵ *Revocare veteranos*, "call out the reserves." Lipsius wrongly contended for the emendation *evocare*, which is not (although he thought it was) found in any MS. The *evocati* were volunteers; the *revocati* were veterans bound to join the reserve, when summoned, during a certain period, after the lapse of which they became free and *exauctorati*. The passage on this subject in Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, new edit., vol. i. p. 792, tit. "*Exercitus*," must be corrected so far as to show the distinction between *revocati* and *evocati*. Orelli gives an inscription (m. Lat. N. 3585) in proof, "*INTER CETEROS CONVETERANOS SUOS REVOCATUS*."

⁶ *Armorum officinis*. Compare Cicero, vii., *Philip.*, iv. 13: "*Armorum officinas in urbe videtis*;" also Cæsar, *Bel. Civ.*, i. 34.

⁷ *Præfecturis*, "auxiliary commands." "*Befehlshaberstellen bei den Auxiliartruppen*" (Hersæus). As we have already seen, the *præfectus* was in the same position over a cohort of auxiliaries as the tribune was over a legion. See Sallust, *Jugurth.*, xlv. 7: "C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat, in utrumque latus auxilios equites tribuni legionum et præfectis cohortium dispertiverat."

⁸ *Procuracionibus*, "imperial agencies or procuratorships." The different classes of these imperial agents, or *procuratores Cæsaris*, are fully given in Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, new edit., vol. ii. 496-499. It will thus be seen that Vespasian encouraged his supporters by two classes of rewards—one, in the army, consisting of auxiliary commands; the other, in civil life, ranging from imperial agencies to senatorial rank.

found luck a substitute for merit. In his first address Mucianus was anything but profuse in his promises of a donative to the soldiery; nay, indeed,¹ Vespasian tendered no more in civil war than other emperors in peace,² thus nobly inflexible against the system of military largess, and he thereby improved the tone of the army.³ Envoys were sent to the Parthian and Armenian,⁴ and heed was taken against a rear attack while the legions were facing the civil war. It was resolved that Titus should press on the Jewish war, that Vespasian should hold the Keys⁵ of Egypt, whilst 'gainst Vitellius they deemed strength enough lay in a section of their army, the generalship of Mucianus, the name of Vespasian, and the resistless force of destiny.⁶ A circular⁷ was despatched to every army and legate, urging them to gain over the Prætorians, wroth as they were with Vitellius, by the offer of a fresh term of service.⁸

LXXXIII. Mucianus with his skirmishers, playing the partner rather than the servant of the throne,⁹ tarried not, lest he might seem to hesitate, nor yet did he hasten, but let the very distance¹⁰ swell the volume of report,

Strategy of
Mucianus.

¹ *Neque Mucianus . . . ne Vespasianus quidem.* Instead of a second *neque* Tacitus uses, *ne quidem*, to effect a climax. Compare *Annals*, i. 4: "Hunc et prima ab infantia eductum in domo regnatricis; congestos juveni consulatus, triumphos; ne iis quidem annis, quibus Rhodi specie secessus exul egerit, aliud quam iram et simulationem et secretas lubricas meditatam."

² *Alii in pace.* Claudius (Suetonius, *Claud.*, x) gave the soldiers in time of peace 15,000 sesterces each, or about £150 per man.

³ *Eoque exercitu meliore.* Heræus erroneously reads *exercitu melior*, unwarranted by any MS. authority.

⁴ *Parthum Armeniumque.* *Vologæses* and *Tiridates*.

⁵ *Claustra Egypti*, "the Keys of Egypt," Alexandria and Pelusium. See *Annals*, ii. 59: "Nam Augustus . . . seposuit *Ægyptum*, ne fame urgueret *Italiam*, quisquis eam provinciam *claustraque terræ ac maris* quamvis levi præsidio adversum ingentes exercitus insedisset."

⁶ *Nihil arduum fatis.* A condensation for "*quod nihil arduum esset fatis.*" Compare *Annals*, iii. 9: "Celebritate loci *nihil occultum.*"

⁷ *Epistulæ* in Tacitus, like *litteræ*, means "a letter," not "letters." Here, of course, it means "a circular."

⁸ It will be remembered that Vitellius had disbanded the Prætorian cohorts (lxvii., ante).

⁹ *Socium magis imperi quam ministrum agens*, "acting the part of a partner rather than of a servant of the throne." Compare *Annals*, xvi. 28: "Denique *agere senatorem* et principis obtractatores protegere."

¹⁰ *Ipsa spatia*, "the very distance." "*Durch die blosse (räumliche) Entfernung*" (Heræus).

conscious of his slender resources and that great expectations are formed of the absent.¹ But behind him followed in vast array the Sixth Legion and detachments² of thirteen thousand men. He had ordered the Pontic fleet³ to put into Constantinople,⁴ as he was still undetermined whether or no he should pass Servia and Bulgaria⁵ and close up Durazzo⁶ with foot and horse, whilst he blockaded the Italian seaboard with his warships, thus guarding Achaia and Asia in his rear, which, unless protected by these lines of defence,⁷ would lie at the mercy of Vitellius. Indeed, he felt this plan would perplex Vitellius as to what part of Italy he should protect, when he found⁸ Brindisi, Taranto,⁹ and the coasts of Calabria and Lucania simultaneously attacked by Flavian fleets.

LXXXIV. The provinces accordingly resounded with the hum of naval, military, and armorial equipments, but nothing proved so trying as the collection of money. The sinews of war. Judicial scandal.

¹ *Majora credi de absentibus.* Compare *Agricola*, xxx.: "Atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est;" also *Cæsar, de Bel. Gal.*, vii. 84. 5: "Omnia enim plerumque, quæ absunt, vehementius hominum mentes perturbant;" also *Livy*, xxviii. 44. 2: "Ad hoc major ignotarum rerum est terror."

² *Vexillariorum.* Detachments from the five legions of Syria and Judæa, each legion supplying a contingent of 2600 men. Compare cap. xi., ante: "Fuere quattuor legiones, e quibus bina milia præmissa." Heræus aptly cites cap. lviii., ante: "Ipse e Britannico exercitu (trium legionum) delecta octo milia sibi adjunxit." See note on *Vexillarii*, i. 31, ante.

³ *Classem e Ponto.* Meiser cites *Hegesippus*, ii. 9: "Mæotia regna Bosporianique omnes Romano subjiiciuntur imperio, et illud ante innavigabile pelagus quadraginta naves ad pacem exercent." Compare also iii. 47, post.: "Lectissimas Liburnicarum omnemque militem Mucianus Byzantium adegerat."

⁴ *Byzantium.* Constantinople, future seat of the Eastern empire.

⁵ *Omissa Mæsia*, "pass Servia and Bulgaria." Mucianus rightly conjectured, as subsequent events proved, that Mæsia would go solid for Vespasian.

⁶ *Dyrrachium pedite atque equite, simul longis navibus versum in Italian mare clauderet.* The verb *clauderet* must be applied by way of *zeugma*; to *Dyrrachium*, or *Durazzo*, in the sense of *closing up* (against the Vitellianists) or *isolating* ("absperren sollte" Heræus); and to the words "*versum in Italian mare*," in the sense of *blockading*. Some inferior MSS. have the word *peteret* after *equite*; but that is, of course, a mere vulgar gloss.

⁷ *Præsidia*, "lines of defence." Compare iii. 82, post.: "Miles Vitellianus trinis et ipse præsidii occurrit." See also Cicero, *Att.*, ix. 3. 1: "Italia tota armis præsidii tenetur;" also cap. xviii. 8, post.; iv. 55. "*Ausstellung von Truppen*" (Heræus).

⁸ *Si sibi*, "when he found" (*dativus incommode*). I agree with Meiser that the sentence is what he terms *σπαχυλογία* pro: "Si Brundisium Tarentumque et Calabriae Lucaniaeque litora infestis classibus peterentur ac sibi defendenda forent."

⁹ *Brundisium Tarentumque.* Brindisi and Taranto.

"Money," quoth Mucian, "is the sinews¹ of war;" nor did he, during the fiscal inquisitions,² regard either law or fact,³ but simply the size of his victim's purse. Informers swarmed, and the wealthiest folk were pounced upon as prey. These odious and intolerable exactions, however palliated by the exigencies of war, continued even in peace, although indeed Vespasian personally, at the beginning of his reign, was not so very⁴ keen in enforcing these unjust demands, until pampered by fortune

¹ *Belli civilis nervos*, "the sinews of war." A familiar metaphor. Compare Cicero, *Phil.*, v. 2: "*Nervos belli, pecuniam infinitam*;" *ibid.*, *pro Leg. Man.*, vii. 17: "*Vectigalia nervos esse reipublicæ*" (both passages cited by Meiser). Compare also *Æschines*, lxxvii. § 26: *ὕποτέμνεται τὰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων*: also Plutarch, *Cleom.* xxvii.: *ἀλλ' ὁ πρῶτος τὰ χρήματα νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων προσειπὼν*.

² *Cognitionibus*, "fiscal inquisitions." See my Appendix. *Cognitio* made the *prætor* judge of fact as well as of law, and enabled him to dispose of the whole case both on facts and law without the intervention of *judices*, who corresponded to our *jurymen* in so far as they were judges of fact in an ordinary action and under the ordinary jurisdiction. When the *prætor's* functions were confined within their province of law only, he was then said to have only *jurisdictio*; but when his powers transcended these limits, he was said to possess *imperium*, which included *cognitio*. In cases of *jurisdictio* he was associated with *judices*, like our *jurors*, who determined questions of fact (see Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, new edit., vol. i. p. 17: "The *prætor* appointed a judge or judges to determine the questions of fact"); but in cases of *imperium* including *cognitio*, he sat alone, like a removable resident magistrate, sole arbiter both of law and facts. Hence the proper term for *cognitio* was *cognitio extraordinaria* (see my Appendix). From this note it will be perceived that *cognitiones* is properly translated by the word *inquisitions*, and it will be found, whether the *prætor* acted or not, that the word is always taken in this sense of *inquisition*, or court of extraordinary jurisdiction, sometimes by the *consule* or *senate*, generally by the *prætor*. I refer the reader to the Appendix, where he will find full reference to Poste's *Gaius*, 3rd edit. See *Annals*, i. 72 and 75; iv. 42; *Quintilian*, iii. 6. 70: "*cognitio prætoris*;" Cicero, *Verr.*, iii. 2. 25; *ad Att.*, xvi. 16. 11. See Austin's *Jurisprudence*, 4th edit., vol. ii. p. 608, where the learned author points out (p. 609) that the distinctions of jurisdiction on questions of law and fact ceased to exist about the end of the third century. See also Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, new edit., vol. i., tit. "Actio," p. 22: "Besides this formulary procedure, in which the *prætor* gave instructions to a judge or judges, and this judge actually tried the issue so directed, there were other matters which the *prætor* himself heard and decided (*causa cognita decrevit*). From this hearing by the *prætor* himself, these trials were called *cognitiones*." It should be noted that, as Tacitus himself was *prætor* under Domitian, he writes here with all the skill of an expert. Before going to press, I refer with extreme pleasure for complete corroboration to Poste's *Gaius*, 3rd edit., pp. 542, 631.

³ *Jus aut verum*, "law or fact." The double function of the *prætor* sitting alone, without *judices*, under the *cognitio extraordinaria*, or *inquisition*, transcending his ordinary *jurisdictio* and passing into *imperium*.

⁴ *Haud perinde obstinante*, "not so very keen." R. Y. Tyrrell, rightly following the Greek idiom, *ὀχ ὀποῖος*: so also Heræus: "*Nicht so sehr, nicht gerade, nicht besonders*." The suppressed *ἀπὸδοσις* is our "after all," or "as one might have

and in an evil school he learnt and steeled himself to the practice.¹ Mucianus supported the war out of his proper moneys likewise, lavish with his privy purse that he might refill it with less scruple from the public treasury.² The world followed suit on the subscription list, but singularly few received the same indulgence in recouping themselves.

LXXXV. Meanwhile Vespasian's designs were quickened by the enthusiasm of the army of Illyricum and their espousal of his cause. The Third Legion³ led the way for the other legions of Mœsia—the Eighth and the Seventh Claudian,⁴ both leavened⁵ with partiality towards Otho, although they had taken no part in the battle of Bedriacum. Advancing as far as Aglar,⁶ they had evinced their mutinous spirit by scouting the messengers of Otho's death, rending the colours⁷ bearing the name of Vitellius, and finally by plundering the war-chest⁸ and dividing its contents. Thence fear, and fear

The legions of
Mœsia espouse
Vespasian's
cause.

expected." This appears clear from *Annals*, ii. 88. 4 (describing Arminius): "Caniturque adhuc barbaras apud gentes, Græcorum annalibus ignotus, qui sua tantum mirantur, *Romanis haud perinde celebris*, dum vetera extollimus recentium incuriosi;" where translate: "Not so very famous amongst the Romans (after all, as one might have expected)." So *Hist.*, iv. 62: "Deformitas haud perinde notabilis;" *Germania*, v.

¹ *Ad optinendas iniquitates*. Bitter irony gibing the technical phrase, *jus optinere*, "to enforce the law." See *Annals*, i. 32: "Non tribunus ultra, non castrorum præfectus *jus optinuit*." Here it was *optinere iniquitates*, "enforcing iniquity."

² *Quod . . . sumeret*. So the MSS. The emendation of Muretus, *quo*, which Heræus adopts, is unnecessary, for the construction is, as pointed out by Meiser, "*largus eo . . . quod sumeret*."

³ III. Gallica. This legion, as described in cap. lxxiv., *ante*, had been originally quartered in Syria under Mucianus, who had succeeded in winning its affections for Vespasian. It had recently been transferred to Mœsia, and Vespasian looked upon it as pledged to him—*suam numerabat*.

⁴ VIII. Augusta; VII. Claudia. The latter so named for its fidelity to Claudius against Scribonianus.

⁵ *Imbutæ favore Othonis*, "leavened with partiality towards Otho." Compare *Dialog. de Orat.*, xix.: "Elementis studiorum, etsi non *instructus*, at certe *imbutus*."

⁶ *Aquileia*, now Aglar, or Aquileja, in Venetia. The three legions were already there (cap. xlii., *ante*) when the battle of Bedriacum was fought, and Plotius Firmus, captain of the Prætorians, had, as we have seen, sought to encourage Otho by their near approach.

⁷ *Vexillia*. The colours of the detachments, for the eagles of the legions had remained behind at head-quarters. "*Weil es nicht die legionen mit dem Adler, sondern bloss Detachements mit dem Vexillum waren*" (Heræus).

⁸ *Pecunia*, "the war-chest." "*Le trésor militaire*" (Burnouf); "*le trésor de l'armée*" (Louandre); "*die Kriegskasse*" (Heræus).

begat the reflection, "What if our shortcomings with Vitellius should stand to our credit¹ in Vespasian's books!" So the three legions of Mœsia wrote an alluring letter² to the army of Pannonia, and were prepared for force in the event of its rejection. Pending these commotions, Aponius Saturninus, governor of Mœsia, attempted an atrocious crime. Cloaking personal rancour under the garb of political exigency, he despatched a centurion to murder Tettius Julianus,³ lieutenant-general of the Seventh Legion. Julianus, apprised of his danger, availing himself of local guides, fled through the trackless wilds of Servia and Bulgaria,⁴ beyond the Balkans;⁵ nor did he afterwards engage in the civil war, but, under various pretexts, procrastinated his contemplated journey to meet Vespasian, and tarried or hastened with the fluctuations of the tidings.

LXXXVI. Now, in Pannonia, the Thirteenth Legion and Galba's Seventh,⁶ still smarting with chagrin and rage over their defeat at Bedriacum, joined Vespasian with alacrity, mainly swayed by Primus Antonius,⁷ who, although incriminated and convicted of forgery⁸ in Nero's reign, had, among the other misfortunes⁹ of the war, regained his senatorial rank. Although Galba had given him the command of the Seventh Legion, yet it was believed he had actively

¹ *Imputari Vespasiano*, "stand to our credit in Vespasian's books." A mercantile metaphor, as already pointed out, i. 38, 55, 71.

² *Epistolas*, "a letter" (see note at the end of cap. lxxxii., *ante*).

³ *Tettius Julianus* (see *ante*, i. lxxxix.). His hesitancy was at first punished by Vespasian, who deprived him of his prætorship (*post*, iv. 39), but afterwards (*post*, iv. 40) restored it to him.

⁴ The ancient Mœsia corresponded to the modern Servia and Bulgaria.

⁵ *Montem Hæmum*. The Balkans, the mountain range separating the modern Turkey (*Thracia* and *Macedonia*) from Servia and Bulgaria (*Mœsia*).

⁶ The Thirteenth Legion, insultingly employed by Vitellius (cap. lxvii., *ante*) in the construction of amphitheatres at Cremona and Bologna, had treasured the insult. The Septima Galbiana was commanded by Primus Antonius.

⁷ *Primus Antonius*. "Cui Tolosæ nato cognomen in pueritia *Becco* fuerat: id valet gallinacei rostrum" (Suetonius, *Vitel.*, xviii.).

⁸ *Falsi damnatus*. Convicted of forgery under the *Lex Cornelia*, passed by Sulla, in A.U.C. 673, B.C. 81. See the account of the crime of Antonius in *Annals*, xiv. 40, and Mr. Furneaux's note; also *Annals*, ii. 55; Juvenal, i. 67:

"Signator falso, qui se lautum atque beatum
Exiguis tabulis et gemma fecerat uda."

⁹ *Inter alia belli mala*, "bitter sarcasm." The rehabilitation of Primus Antonius was one of the misfortunes of war.

A free-lance and
a knight-errant.
Primus Antonius
and Cornelius
Fuscus.

corresponded with Otho, and tendered his sword to the party; but Otho ignored him, and he lay fallow during the Othonianist war. When Vitellius was collapsing, Antonius joined Vespasian with striking effect, vigorous as he was in action, ready with his tongue, adept in the craft of calumny, supreme 'mid discord and mutiny, plunderer and prodigal, outcast in peace, in war no mean ally. Thus united, the armies of Moesia and Pannonia drew with them the legions of Dalmatia, although the consular legates remained passive. Tampius Flavianus¹ was governor of Pannonia, Pompeius Silvanus, of Dalmatia, both wealthy and old men; but there was the procurator, Cornelius Fuscus, in the vigour of life and of distinguished birth. In early youth fired by restless² ambition, he had thrown up his seat in the Senate; then had led his colony³ fighting for Galba, whereby he gained his procuratorship; and finally, espousing the cause of Vespasian, his fiery nature flamed fiercely like a brand in the van of the war.⁴ He revelled not so much in danger's prizes as in danger itself, and yearned for change, peril, and adventure, rather than a life of staid and stale security. So they⁵ sought to sap⁶ and shake⁷ all round, and assailed every weak spot. Despatches were sent to the Fourteenth⁸ Legion in Britain,

¹ *Tampius Flavianus*. The emendation of Faernus for the erroneous MS. *Titus apilius*.

² *Inquies cupidine*. "fired by restless ambition." The admirable emendation of Meiser for the corrupt *quietis cupidine* of the Medicean MS.—corrupt, because it is the very converse of what Tacitus is picturing. Meiser refers to *Annals*, i. 68: "*Haud minus inquies Germanus spe, cupidine—agebat*;" *Annals*, i. 74: "*egens, ignotus, inquies*;" *Annals*, xvi. 14: "*inquies animo*." Grotius proposed *quæstus cupidine*, which Heræus adopts, but *quæstus* was the very last thing in the world that Fuscus (the counterpart of the modern Earl of Peterborough) cared for, as he subsequently abandoned the sunshine of Domitian's court, and fell fighting against the Dacians.

"*Et qui vulturibus servabat viscera Dacis
Fuscus marmorea medilutus prælia villa.*"

(Juvenal, iv. 111, 112.)

³ *Dux coloniz suæ*. Most probably a Spanish colony, as he was a native of Spain.

⁴ *Acerrimam bello facem prætulit*. Compare Juvenal, viii. 139: "*Claramque facem præferre pudendis*;" Cicero, *Cat.*, i. 6.

⁵ *Igitur*, "so they." Vespasian and the Flavian party generally, not merely Antonius and Fuscus.

⁶ *Movere*, "sought to sap." Compare Cicero, *Att.*, viii. 3-6 (Tyr. and Purs., ccxciv., vol. iii. p. 272): "*tantum abest ut—sententiam moveat*."

⁷ *Quaters*. Compare the Horatian, "*mente quatit solida*."

⁸ *Quartadecumanos* (see cap. lxi., ante).

and to the First,¹ in Spain, as both those legions had been on Otho's side against Vitellius. Letters were scattered through Gaul, and in an instant up blazed a mighty war, 'mid the open revolt of the armies of Illyricum and the expectant attitude of the rest.

LXXXVII. While these preparations were being made through the provinces by Vespasian and the Flavian leaders, Vitellius, growing daily more despicable and indolent, halting to enjoy every pleasant town and villa in his course, was approaching Rome in heavy marching order.² There followed him sixty thousand armed men, a depraved and demoralized body; still more numerous were the camp-servants,³ and not even slaves could be more ungovernable than sutlers.⁴ Such a retinue of general officers and friends would have been unmanageable even under the most stringent discipline. The crowd was swelled⁵ by senators and knights

Vitellius ap-
proaching Rome.
His dissolute
array.

¹ *Primanos*. Prima Adjutrix Classicorum (see cap. lxxvii., ante).

² *Gravi . . . agmine*, "in heavy marching order." Compare i. 70, ante: "Pœnino itinere subsignatum militem et grave legionum agmen hibernis adhuc Alpius traduxit," where Heræus translates, "*Die schwerfällige Marsch und Trainkolonne der Legionen*." Compare Livy, xxxi. 39: "Montes, quam viam non ingressum gravi agmine Romanum sciebat, petit."

³ *Calonum*, "camp-servants." In his very admirable essay, *Horæ Tacitæ*, iii., *Hermathena*, 429, the late Mr. William Nesbitt, M.A., T.C.D., observes, "*Calones*, probably *caballones*, from the vulgar designation of a horse, *caballus*, or 'grooms: ' we have a reminiscence of the connection in Horace, *Sat.*, i. 6. 103, '*Plures calones atque caballi Pascendi*.' *Calones* are soldiers' slaves (vide Dölerlein, *Syn.*, iv. 285). Translate *lizas calonesque* (i. 49, ante), 'sutlers and camp-servants.'" Compare *Festus*, p. 62, Müller's edit., "*Calones militum servi dicti*" (cited by Meiser).

⁴ *Procacissimis etiam inter servos lizarum ingeniis*, "not even slaves could be more ungovernable than sutlers." *Lizæ*, or "sutlers," were free men, and not slaves, as shown by *Annals*, ii. 62. We must, therefore, translate *inter servos* as above, *inter* being used as a word of comparison rather than of classification. So Dübner: "Vel si cum servorum ingeniis compares, etiam hæc procacitate superantia." Mr. Nesbitt, in iii. *Hermathena*, 429, observes, "*Lizæ* (doubtless from the root of *elixus*, *liza*, 'water; ' an original *lixarius*, perhaps, would be thus clipped by the soldier's wit) are 'sutlers,' or 'camp-followers,' who supplied the soldiers with goods and provisions of various kinds for their own profit." So Nonius, cited by Meiser: "*Lizarum* proprietas hæc est quod officium sustineant militibus aquæ vehendæ; *lizam* namque aquam veteres vocaverunt."

⁵ *Onerabant multitudinem*, "the crowd was swelled." *Onerare* is here used in its literal sense of adding to the weight or proportion. Compare Plautus, *Men.*, *prol.*, 25; also Cæsar, *B. G.*, v. 1: "(Naves) ad celeritatem *onerandi* subductionesque paullo facit humiliores." Tacitus, however, frequently uses the word in the figurative sense of *intensifying*, as in i. 6, ante: "Odio flagitiorum *oneratum*;" ii. 64: "Modes-

from Rome; some came through fear, many to flatter, the rest, and gradually the world at large, not to be left in the lurch by their neighbours. There flocked, too, from the dregs the infamous associates of Vitellius—parasites, actors, charioteers, in whose degrading companionship he took extraordinary¹ pleasure. Nor was it only colonies or towns that were emptied by his requisitions, but the very tillers of the soil, and the soil itself at harvest-time, were plundered as if in a hostile country.

LXXXVIII. Many and fierce were the internecine feuds of the soldiers, for the bad blood² between the legionaries and auxiliaries lingered ever since the mutiny at Pavia, and they only agreed³ when they had to fight the natives.⁴ But the greatest carnage took place at the seventh milestone from Rome. There Vitellius was giving each soldier a dinner, supplied with the liberal profusion of a gladiator's mess,⁵ and a stream of people from the city flowed through the entire camp. Some, by way of a coarse hoax,⁶ had pilfered from the careless soldiers, slitting off their belts

Violence of the
Vitellianist
soldiery.
Panic in Rome.

tum e proximo exemplum *onerabat*;" iv. 14: "Delectum quem suapte natura gravem *onerabant* ministris."

¹ *Mire gaudebat*. Compare Cicero, *Att.*, i. 11. 3 (Tyrrell, vol. i. p. 16, let. vii.): "*Mire* quam illius loci non modo usus, sed etiam cogitatio delectat," where Professor Tyrrell translates, *καυαλῶς* &c.

² *Discordia*, "bad blood." *Discordia* is the *bad blood* between the soldiers themselves; *seditio*, on the other hand, is *mutiny*, or insubordination towards their superior officers.

³ *Consensu* is the reading of all the MSS., and is quite Tacitean. There is no necessity to adopt Fr. Walter's emendation, *consensus*, which has been followed by Hærsæus.

⁴ *Pagani*, "the natives;" "*Bürger und Bauer*" (Hærsæus).

⁵ *Paratos cibos ut gladiatoriam saginam dividebat*. All the commentators cite *Propertius*, v. 8. 25:

"*Qui dabit immundæ venalia fata saginæ.*"

We are indebted to Meiser for giving us Rupert's commentary, which is well worth reproducing: "*Qui vitam suam vendet lanistæ: nam viri etiam nobilissimi villa ætate, consumptis bonis et inopia urgente, vendebant se lanistis et gladiatores largioribus fortioribusque cibis saginari et corroborari solebant.*"

⁶ *Vernacula* . . . *urbanitate*, "by way of a coarse hoax." *Vernaculus* is used by Tacitus in the unusual sense of—characteristic of slaves or of the lowest class. In its more idiomatic sense of *native*, or indigenous—from *verna*, "a native"—it is frequently used by Cicero, as in *Fam.*, ix. 15. 2: "*Imago antiquæ et vernaculæ festivitatis*;" Brutus, xlv. 172: "*Sapor vernaculus*," "innate or natural taste." So Varro, *L. L.*, v. 77 (edit. Müller): "*Aquatilium vocabula partim sunt vernacula partim peregrina.*" So in Pliny, xxxvii. 13. 77, § 202, we have *equi vernaculi*.

slily, and then asked them, were they belted knights?¹ Tempers, unused to insult, ill brooked the joke, and the soldiers charged the unarmed populace sword in hand. Amongst others, a soldier's father was slain by his son's side. His remains were subsequently recognized, and the tidings of his murder stayed the onslaught on the harmless people. Still panic swayed in Rome, as some² soldiers rushed on, helter-skelter³ in advance, chiefly in the direction of the Forum, yearning to visit the spot where Galba fell.⁴ No less savage a sight was presented by the men themselves, bristling with furs and formidable javelins; while in their awkwardness they jostled the crowd, or, whenever they slipped in the grime or stumbled in the throng, took to brawls, then blows and the sword. Nay, the captains of regulars and auxiliaries⁵ flitted to and fro, striking terror with their armed bands.

LXXXIX. Vitellius himself, wearing war-cloak⁶ and sword, mounted on a noble charger, rode on from the Mulvian bridge,⁷ driving the Senate and people before him, but was deterred by the advice of friends from entering Rome as if it were a captured city,⁸ and, attiring himself in civic robes,⁹ he passed the gates with his

Vitellius, in civic robes, enters Rome with his army. Imposing display.

¹ *An accincti forent*, "Were they belted knights?" (R. Y. Tyrrell). *Accinctus* was the technical term for an armed soldier (see the very next chapter), and Mr. Tyrrell's translation keeps up the banter.

² *Præcurrentibus . . . militibus*. Only some of the soldiers, as the main body subsequently advanced.

³ *Passim*, "helter-skelter." An old-fashioned and onomatopœic colloquialism not beneath the dignity of prose.

⁴ The simpletons were under the delusion that Vitellius was the avenger of Galba, because he destroyed Otho, Galba's murderer.

⁵ *Tribuni præfectique*. Captains of regulars and auxiliaries. The *præfecti* held the same position in the *auxiliaries* as the tribunes did in the *legions*. See Sallust, *Jugurth.*, xvi. 7: "C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat, in utrumque latus auxilios equites *tribunis legionum et præfectis cohortium* dispersiverat." See also cap. 82, *ante*, and note.

⁶ *Paludatus*. Wearing the *paludamentum*, or military cloak—the *sagum purpureum* of the emperor as distinguished from the *sagum gregale* of the common soldier (see Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, new edit., vol. ii. p. 322).

⁷ *Pons Mulvius* or *Milvius*. The Mulvian bridge crossing the Tiber two miles north of Rome by the *Via Flaminia*.

⁸ *Ut captam urbem*. Tacitean brevity for "*urbem ut captam urbem*."

⁹ *Prætexta*. The civic robe of rank worn by the emperor and higher magistrates, as also by freeborn children until they attained the age of virility. Hence the

marshalled battalions. The eagles of four¹ legions were borne along² the front line, flanked³ by as many colours⁴ from other legions; next came the standards of twelve squadrons of auxiliary horse, and the cavalry ranged behind the infantry; then followed four and thirty cohorts of auxiliary foot, marshalled in accordance⁵ with the names of their several races and the peculiarities of their arms. The prefects of the camp, the tribunes and the centurions of the front rank, clad in white, led the eagles, while the other officers, glittering with arms and trophies, marched beside their several companies amid the sheen of military decorations and chain adornments.⁶ A glorious sight it was, and an army worthy of an emperor far different from Vitellius. In this order he entered the Capitol, and there embraced his mother⁷ and bestowed upon her the title of Augusta.

XC. The next day, as if before a foreign⁸ senate and people, he pronounced a pompous eulogy upon himself, extolling his own spirit and moderation, in the presence of the very witnesses of his enormities and in the face of all Italy—scene of his shameless sloth and luxury. Yet

Self-com-
placency of
Vitellius.
Servility of the
mob.

prætextatus adulter of Juvenal, i. 78 is well translated by Mr. A. Leeper as "adulterers in their teens." Here the *prætexta* is probably equivalent to the *toga picta* which the triumphant general wore over the *tunica palmata*. No *imperator* or *magistratus cum imperio* dare enter Rome in the *paludamentum*, or war-cloak. It is true a different account has been given by Suetonius, *Vitellius*, xi.: "*Urbem denique ad classicum introiit paludatus ferroque succinctus*, inter signa atque vexilla, *sagulat*is comitibus, ac *detectis* commilitonum armis;" but where Tacitus differs from Suetonius, the trustworthiness of the former should prevail.

¹ *Quattuor legionum aquilæ*. I. Italica; V. Alaudæ; XXI. Rapax; XXII. Primigenia (see i. 61–64; ii. 100; iii. 22).

² *Per frontem*, "along the front line" (R. Y. Tyrrell).

³ *Circa*, "flanked."

⁴ *Vexilla*. The colours indicating detachments only from I. Germanica, IV. Macedonica, XV. Primigenia, XVI. Gallica. The absence of the eagles proves that these were only detachments (see ii. 100; iii. 22).

⁵ *Ut . . . forent* here stands for *prout . . . forent*.

⁶ *Phalæx torquesque*. Compare Juvenal, xvi. 60: "*Ut læti phaleris omnes et torquibus omnes*."

⁷ *Sextilia*, whose heroic character (*antiqui moris*) is so admirably sketched in cap. lxiv., *ante*.

⁸ *Alterius*. Frequently used by Tacitus for the unusual genitive *alius*. Compare *Agricola* v.: "*Etsi consiliis ductuque alterius agebantur*;" *ibid.*, xvii.: "*Et Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam fumamque obruisset*;" *Hist.*, iii. 1, *post*: "*Superesse Vespasiano mare, classes, studia provinciarum, per quas velut alterius belli molem*

the giddy¹ crowd, devoid of moral perceptions,² but schooled in the routine of flattery, chimed in with vociferous applause, and, when Vitellius declined the title of Augustus, forced an acceptance as bootless as his prior refusal.³

XCI. Citizens who put a meaning on everything read an augury of evil when Vitellius, in his new capacity of high priest, published an official announcement⁴ concerning the state ritual on the 18th of July, a day banned from of yore as the anniversary of the disasters on the Cremera and the Allia;⁵ so ignorant was he of

An unlucky day.
July 18.
xv. Kal. Aug.
Helvidius Priscus.
Thrasea.
"Der Cato der Kaiserzeit."

cieret." All these passages are cited by Heræus, *ad. loc.*, to whom I am indebted for them.

¹ *Vulgus tamen vacuum curis.* Tacitus may have had before his mind Horace, *Carm.*, i. 6. 17:

"Nos convivia, nos prœlia virginum
Sectis in juvenes unguibus acrium
Cantamus vacui, sive quid urimur,
Non præter solitum leves."

² *Sine falsi verique discrimine*, "devoid of moral perceptions." Compare Horace, *Carm.*, i. 18. 10:

"Cum fas atque nefas exiguo sine libidinum
Discernunt avidi."

³ *Tam frustra quam recusaverat.* Meiser cites Dübner: "Et recusatum et acceptum nomen æque frustra fuit et sine eventu ullo." Heræus refers to iii. 38, *post*: "*Frustra* Vespasianum timeri, quem tot Germanicæ legiones, tot provinciæ virtute ac fide, tantum denique terrarum ac maris immensis spatiis arceat."

⁴ *Edixisset*, "published an official announcement." *Edicere* is used in this absolute sense by Suetonius, *Caligula*, xxvi.: "Consulibus oblitis de natali suo *edicere* abrogavit magistratum."

⁵ *XV. Kalendas Augustas.* The 18th of July—double anniversary of the disasters on the Cremera and the Allia. The Fabii were destroyed on the Cremera (a small river in Etruria), in 477 B.C.:

"Hæc fuit illa dies, in qua Veientibus arvis
Ter centum Fabii ter cecidere duo."

(Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 195.)

Ovid makes two mistakes here. (1) He says 306 Fabii were killed, but only 305 were slain, for *one*, the son of Marcus, from whom all subsequent Fabii traced their descent, escaped. (2) He fixes the Ides (13th) of February as the anniversary. This is altogether wrong, and all other authors differ from him. Compare Livy, vi. 1. 11: "Diemque a. d. xv. Kal. Sextiles duplici clade insignem, quo die ad *Cremeram* Fabii cæsi, quo deinde ad *Alliam* cum exitio urbis fœde pugnatum, a posteriore clade *Alliensem* appellarunt insignemque rei nullius publice privatimque agenda fecerunt." Compare also Suetonius, *Vitel.*, xi.: "Magis deinde ac magis omni divino humanoque jure neglecto, *Alliensi die* pontificatum maximum cepit." The date of the defeat of the Roman army at the Allia, or Alia (a small river eleven miles from Rome), was the 18th of July, 390 B.C. The *dies Alliensis*, therefore, involved the *dies Cremerensis*—"dies iræ, dies illa."

all law human and divine,¹ and, with freedmen and friends as besotted as himself, lived as if amid a crew of drunkards.² Yet he took part, like any other citizen, in the consular elections in company with the candidates he had recommended,³ and by his presence in the theatre and his bets⁴ in the circus caught at every breath of the rabble's applause. Had this conduct been inspired by pure motives, it would have proved pleasing and popular, but his record and antecedents invested it with a character of shame and contempt. He was a constant visitor to the Senate, even during the most unimportant debates, and on one of these occasions Priscus Helvidius, prætor-elect, had opposed his policy. Vitellius at first waxed wroth, but then merely prayed the veto of the tribunes of the people in aid of his slighted authority; and then, when his friends, who feared that his anger rankled deeper, assuaged him, he replied that there was nothing strange in a political dispute between two senators; that he, Vitellius, had been wont to oppose even Thræsea.⁵ Many sneered at this insolent pretentiousness, but others again were gratified that it was not one of the great ones of this world, but Thræsea, that he had chosen as his type of true glory.

¹ *Omnis humani divinique juris expers.* The converse of the Horatian "*juris legumque peritus.*" Compare Suetonius in preceding note.

² *Velut inter temulentos agebat.* Compare *Annals*, i. 50: "*Pax . . . soluta inter temulentos.*"

³ *Cum candidatis*, "in company with the candidates he had recommended." Compare Suetonius, *Augustus*, lvi.: "*Quotiens magistratum comitiis interesset, tribus cum candidatis suis circumibat supplicabatque more sollemni.*" The election of the consuls rested with the Senate; the emperor had only a right of *nominatio*, which was tantamount to a *certificate of qualification*. As regards the minor offices of *questors*, *prætors*, *ædiles*, and *tribunes*, the emperor had a right of *commendatio* or virtual appointment as to a certain number of these (see Pliny, *De Trajano: Paneg.*, lxxi., lxxvii.).

⁴ *Fautor.* See Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, new edit., vol. i. p. 437: "The winners of important races, on which there was heavy betting, sometimes received enormous sums from patrons who had backed them (Juvenal, vii. 113. 243; Suetonius, *Claudius*, xxi.; *Capitol.*, Ver. 6; *Martial*, x. 74. 5)."

*"Cum Scorpus una quindecim graves hora
Ferventis auri victor auferat saccos."*

(*Martial*, x. 74. 5.)

⁵ *C. Fannius Thræsea Pætus.* *Virtus ipsa* (*Annals*, xvi. 21); termed by Professor Heræus, "*Der Cato der Kaiserzeit*," "The Cato of the empire." See the glorious passage in Juvenal, v. 36.

XCII. He had promoted to the command of the Prætorian guards Publius Sabinus, a retired¹ auxiliary officer, and Julius Priscus, then a mere centurion. Priscus was the creature of Valens, Sabinus, of Cæcina; but notwithstanding this variance, no authority was left to Vitellius. Cæcina and Valens were the real governors. Long brooding over their mutual hate, which, ill disguised even in war and camp-life, had now been intensified by wrong-headed² friends and a social atmosphere pregnant with mischief, they vied and competed with each other in the rivalry of their partisans,³ retainers, and crowded *levées*, while Vitellius shifted his favours from one to the other in turn. Excessive power is a thing never to be relied on. Vitellius, too, by his⁴ capricious fits of temper and maudlin gush, inspired them both with feelings of alternate scorn and fear. Nor were they less eager on that account⁵ to pounce on palaces, gardens, and imperial wealth, while a mournful and indigent crowd of nobles, restored with their children by Galba from exile,⁶ looked in vain for help to

Rivalry of Valens and Cæcina. The exiles. The rights of patrons over freedmen.

¹ *A præfectura cohortis*. A retired auxiliary officer. Mr. Spooner accurately points out that the preposition here indicates a former and not a present office, and has no analogy with the term *servus a libellis* or *ab epistulis*, etc.

² *Pravitas amicorum*, "wrong-headed friends." Tacitus is here rigidly idiomatic in his Latinity. See next chapter and note, also iii. 41. 7, *post*: *Pravitas consilii patuit*."

³ *Ambitu comitatu*. The abstract for the concrete partisans, retainers. *Ambitus* is the partisanship of courtiers seeking corruptly to advance themselves. These folk subsequently found the *ambitiosos sinus*, mentioned at the end of the chapter. So Ritter: "Studiis ambientium favorem ipsorum."

⁴ *Subitis offensis aut intempestivis blanditiis mutabilem*, "by his capricious fits of temper and maudlin gush." Meiser cites Ritter, *ad loc.*: "Et offensæ et blanditiæ ipsius Vitellii dicuntur; illas Cæcina et Valens metuebant, has contemnebant. Liberius igitur *mutabilis* vox juncta cum *subitis offensis aut intempestivis blanditiis*, qui sunt ablativi prædicati, non instrumenti, ut grammatici loquuntur." Meiser compares cap. lix., *ante*: "*Quamvis odium Vitellius vernilibus blanditiis velaret*."

⁵ *Nec eo segnius*, "nor were they less eager on that account." *Eo* refers to the preceding, not to the subsequent facts.

⁶ *Flebilis et egens nobilium turba*. The exiles here referred to were the victims of Nero's ruthless despotism. Their twenty millions sterling had been squandered by Nero, and on that account Galba had (i. 20, *ante*) issued a fiscal commission to recover that amount, leaving a tithe to the debtors. After his death, Otho had decreed that any portion of these moneys (see i. 90, *ante*) not yet paid into the treasury should be given to the exiles (*revocatis ab exilio*); but this balance proved insignificant, as nearly all the amount had been already paid into the treasury—"festinata jam pridem exactione usu sterile."

the compassion of their prince. Men of rank welcomed, and even the populace applauded, a decree of Vitellius restoring to the exiles their rights over their freedmen,¹ although the latter, with servile instinct,² sought in every way to nullify that decree by secretly depositing their moneys in the pockets of obscure or influential trustees.³ Nay, some of them passed into the service of the emperor, and in that way became more powerful than their former patrons.

XCIII. But the soldiers, as their excessive numbers completely packed and overflowed the Prætorian⁴ camp, and they were consequently scattered through the porticoes, temples,⁵ and the city at large, did not know their head-quarters, became remiss in outpost duty, and lost their tone through want of occupation. Allured

Disorganized
state of the
soldiery in
Rome.
Ascendency of
Valens.

¹ *Jura libertorum*. Their rights over their freedmen. The obligations and liabilities of the freedman to his patron were both numerous and onerous. They not only included *obsequium* and *reverentia*, but extended to *alimony* in the event of the poverty of the patron, his parents, or children. Moreover, the Roman law gradually extended the rights of the patron to inherit a certain portion of his freedman's property, either in the case of *intestacy* or (at a later period) of *testamentary disposition*. By the Law of the XII. Tables, the inheritance of a freedman only devolved on his patron when he died *intestate* and without leaving a self-successor. By the *equitable jurisdiction* under the *prætor's edict*, the freedman was compelled, in the event of *testamentary disposition*, to leave a moiety of his property to his patron, and also the patron became entitled to a moiety upon *intestacy*, whether the freedman left a self-successor or not. Later still, the *lex Papia Poppæa* enacted that, whenever a freedman left property of the value of 100,000 sesterces and upwards, and not so many as three children, then, in such event, the patron became entitled to a portion equal to that of a single child, whether the freedman died *testate* or *intestate*. See Poste's *Gaius* (3rd edit., §§ 40-42, pp. 306, 307), and Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, new edit., vol. ii. p. 63, tit. "Libertus;" also *Annals*, xiii. 26.

² *Servilia ingenia*, "servile instinct," "*sklaven seelen*" (Hæmus); like the *medium ingenium* of i. 49.

³ *Abditis pecuniis per occultos aut ambitiosos sinus*, "by secretly depositing their moneys in the pockets of obscure or influential trustees." The *sinus* was the fold of the toga which made a pocket, but it also meant a place of privacy or concealment, as in *Annals*, xiii. 13: "*cubiculum ac sinum offerre*;" also *Annals*, vi. 45. 5; also *Agricola*, iv. 2. Hence I have added "*trustees*," to bring out the full meaning. The pockets of obscure trustees were not likely to attract attention, and the *influential* fiduciaries were too powerful for attack.

⁴ *Castris*. The *Prætorian camp*. As already observed, whenever Rome is the *locus in quo*, then *castra* means the camp par excellence, the *Prætorian camp*. See note i. 17, p. 12, ante; xciv., post, "*castrorum decus*."

⁵ *In porticibus aut delubris*. Compare i. 31, ante: "*Electos Illyrici exercitus Vipsania in porticus tendentes*;" also *ibid.*, "*Ut Germanicos milites e Libertatis atrio accerserent*."

by the enticements and shameful profligacy of Rome, they impaired their physique by idleness and their spirit by debauchery. Eventually, regardless even of their health, a large number took up their quarters in the notoriously unhealthy Vatican district.¹ There was consequently great mortality in the ranks, and, as the Tiber was close by,² the Germans and Gauls, sensitive to infection, in their eagerness for the river to escape from the heat, sapped their constitutions.³ Moreover, the rules of the service fell into disorder,⁴ either through wrong-headedness⁵ or self-interest. Sixteen⁶ Prætorian and four⁷ city cohorts, each to contain one thousand men, were in process of enrolment. Valens took the lead in this levy, on the ground that he had been Cæcina's very deliverer from danger. No doubt his advent had rehabilitated the fortunes of his party, his

¹ *Infamibus Vaticanis locis*, "the notoriously unhealthy Vatican district." An allusion to the malaria or cativ' aria; for *infamibus*, Orelli refers to his own Flaccus, *Carm.*, i. 3. 20: "*Infames scopulos, Acroceraunia.*"

² *Adjacente Tiberi*, "as the Tiber was close by." Some editors take umbrage at the use of the word *adjacere* for "running water," and would read *adfluente*; but *adjacere* is used topographically, and not characteristically, by Tacitus.

³ *Obnoxia morbis corpora fluminis aviditate et æstus impatientia labefacta*. This is Meiser's reading for MS. "*Obnoxia morbis corpora fluminis aviditate et æstus impatientia labefecit*." The MS. reading being unintelligible as it stands, Puteolanus (followed by Heræus) reads *aviditas* for *aviditate*, and his text is as follows: "*Obnoxia morbis corpora fluminis aviditas et æstus impatientia labefecit*." This is sense, no doubt, but were these the words of Tacitus? Here was an opportunity for a great conservative critic such as Meiser. Meiser points out that in the Medicean MS. one or other of the words *aviditate* or *labefecit* must be wrong. Which, then, was the wrong word? It is quite apparent that *labefecit* is a much easier corruption from *labefacta* than *aviditate* would be from *aviditas*. Meiser, therefore, reads, "*aviditate et æstus impatientia labefacta*." The *fluminis aviditas* means eagerness for bathing and swimming in the river. See cap. xvii., *ante*.

⁴ *Confusus . . . ordo militiæ*, "the rules of the service fell into disorder." Compare the "*seditionem et confusum ordinem disciplinæ*" of i. 60, *ante*.

⁵ *Pravitate*, "wrong-headedness." Compare not only the *pravitas amicorum* of the preceding chapter, and note thereon, but also the *pravitas consilii patuit* of iii. 41. 7, *post*, which latter passage clearly brings out the meaning of *wrong-headedness*.

⁶ *Sedecim prætoriarum cohortes*. These new sixteen Prætorian cohorts were in lieu of those disbanded (as recorded in cap. lxxvii., *ante*), which were, however, only nine in number. Vespasian subsequently reduced these new cohorts to the original number of nine. See *Annals*, iv. 5: "*Quamquam insideret urbem proprius miles, tres urbanæ, novem prætoriarum cohortes.*"

⁷ *Quattuor urbanæ cohortes*. The original number, as may be seen from the preceding note, was three. The urban cohorts were under the special control of the city prefect. See iii. 64, *post*: "*Esse illi proprium militem cohortium urbanarum.*"

victory had given the lie to the sinister whispers anent his slow advance, and the whole army of Lower Germany was at his beck. This latter circumstance is believed to have been the prime cause of the wane¹ of Cæcina's loyalty.

XCIV. Indulgent, however, as Vitellius was to his generals, he gave still looser reins to the soldiery. Every man selected his own branch in the service; however undeserving, he was enrolled in the city forces if he so preferred; whilst deserving men, on the other hand, were allowed to continue in the legions or auxiliary cavalry—a choice considerably availed of, as many of the men were worn out by disease, and found fault with the unwholesome climate. Yet the legions and auxiliary cavalry were drained of their very flower, while the prestige of the Prætorian camp was shattered² by the adjunct of twenty thousand soldiers taken at random, rather than selected from the entire army. When Vitellius addressed the troops, they demanded the execution of the Gallic chieftains Asiaticus, Flavius, and Rufinus, inasmuch as they had fought for Vindex. Nor did Vitellius seek to repress such demands; for, apart from the cowardice in the very grain of that supine heart, he felt the pressure of the donative and the absence of funds, and, consequently, treated the soldiers in every other respect with lavish indulgence. The imperial freedmen were ordered to pay a kind of tribute in proportion to the number of their slaves. Vitellius himself, absolute spendthrift, built stables for his charioteers, filled the circus with shows of gladiators and

Demoralization
of the army.
Impecuniosity
and extravagance
of Vitellius.

¹ *Fluitasse*, "the wane." Compare i. 21, *ante*: "Dum Galbæ auctoritas *fluxa*; Pisonis nondum coaluisset."

² *Convulsus castrorum decus*, "the prestige of the Prætorian camp was shattered." *Convellere* is properly a medical term, and means a "wrench" or "dislocation." So Lucretius, iii. 341:

"Non, inquam, sic animai

Discidium possunt artus perferre relict,

Sed penitus pereunt convulsi conque putrescunt."

So, speaking of the rack, Seneca, *Controvers.*, ii. 13. 5: "Omnia (membra) laniata, omnes partes *convulsæ* sunt." The word soon passed from a specific to a metaphorical use, and in this latter application is frequently used by Tacitus, as in iv. 30. 10, *post*: "Nuntiis et promissis fidem legionum *convellens*;" also *Annals*, xii. 1: "Cæde Messalinæ *convulsa* principis domus;" *ibid.*, 65: "Novercæ insidiis domum omnem *convelli*;" *ibid.*, iv. 40: "Discordia nepotes suos *convelli*;" *ibid.*, vi. 48: "*Tiberius* . . . vi dominationis *convulsus et mutatus*." *Castra*, as already pointed out (see preceding chapter), means the Prætorian camp.

wild beasts, and sported away¹ his money as if he had an unlimited supply.

XCV. Moreover, Cæcina and Valens commemorated the birthday² of Vitellius by gladiatorial shows in every quarter³ of the city on a vast and unprecedented scale of magnificence. The most abandoned reprobates rejoiced, whilst worthy citizens were scandalized, when Vitellius raised altars in the Campus Martius, and celebrated funeral rites for Nero's departed spirit.⁴ Victims were slain and burnt in Rome's name; the flames were enkindled by the sodality of Augustus,⁵ a religious confraternity dedicated by Tiberius Cæsar to the service of the Julian family, similar to that consecrated by Romulus to the name of King

The birthday of Vitellius. He celebrates funeral rites in honour of Nero. Prodigality and gluttony of the emperor.

¹ *Pecunie inludere*, "sported away his money;" "fooled away his money." Here the term is a gibe at the *ludi circenses*, as Tacitus is fond of playing on words, as in the *Annals*, where we have his celebrated joke on *cedo alteram*, and in the present book of the History, where we find the play on *Rapax* (see cap. xlii., *ante*, and note), not to mention the famous *nisi imperasset* of i. 49.

² *Natalem Vitellii diem*, "the birthday of Vitellius," either the 24th or 7th day of September, A.D. 15, A.U.C. 768. See Suetonius, *Vitel.*, iii.: "A. Vitellius L. filius Imperator natus est viii. Kal. Oct. vel ut quidam vii. Id. Sept. Druso Cæsare, Norbano Flacco cons."

³ *Vicatim*, "in every quarter." Tacitus uses the word here in a loose and general sense. In its exact sense it means in every *vicus* or *street*, and, of course, a gladiatorial show could hardly be held in every street. In 8 B.C. Augustus divided Rome into fourteen *regions*, or wards, which, in turn were subdivided into (Pliny, *H. N.*, § 66) 265 *vici*, or streets. See Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, new edit., vol. ii. p. 955, tit. "Vicus," to which I am indebted for the facts stated in this note.

⁴ *Inferias Neroni fecisset*, "celebrated funeral rites for Nero's departed spirit." See Ovid, *Fast.*, ii. 569:

"Hanc [18th of February], quia justa ferunt, dixere Feralia lucem:

Ultima placandis Manibus illa dies."

The *inferiæ* were offerings to the *manes* of the departed. See Verg., *Æn.*, iii. 66:

"Inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte
Sanguinis et sacri pateras, animamque sepulchro
Condimus, et magna supremum voce cieimus."

See also *ibid.*, v. 80:

"Salve, sancte parens, iterum: salвете, recepti
Nequiquam cineres, animæque umbræque paternæ."

⁵ *Augustales*. The *sodales Augustales* were a religious confraternity or sodality (*Augustalium sacerdotium*) founded by Tiberius in A.D. 14, to devote themselves to the worship of Augustus and the Julian family. See *Annals*, i. 54: "Idem annus (A.D. 14) novas cærimonias accepit addito *sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio*, ut quondam Titus Tatius retinendis Sabinorum sacris *sodales Titios instituerat*. Sorte ducti e primoribus civitatis unus et viginti: Tiberius Drususque et Claudius et Germanicus adjiciuntur."

Tatius.¹ Four months had not yet elapsed since the victory of Bedriacum, and still Asiaticus, the freedman of Vitellius, was already rivalling the Polycliti,² Patrobii, and other hateful memories. Not a soul in that court competed in the path of honour or of worth; the only road to power lay in seeking to glut the insatiable maw of Vitellius with wasteful wassail and lavish feeds and orgies.³ He deemed the enjoyment of the present an ample discharge of duty, and, regardless of the future, he is believed to have squandered about £9,000,000⁴ sterling in a very few months. Sorrow clouded the grandeur of Rome, doomed as she was to endure an Otho and a Vitellius in one and the same year, and what with the Vinii, Fabii, Iceli, Asiatici, to ring all the changes in the compass of infamy,⁵ until there came thereafter a Mucian and a Marcellus—new men, indeed, but the old morality.

XCVI. The first revolt of which Vitellius got news was that of the Third⁶ Legion, announced by a letter⁷ from Aponius Saturninus,⁸ preceding the latter's own defection to the party of Vespasian. Aponius, however, unnerved by the sudden event, had given imperfect details, and fulsome friends toned down its serious aspect. One

First news of the Flavian revolt. Vitellius seeks to minimize it.

¹ *Ut Romulus Tatius regi.* Heraeus reads, "*Ut Romulus Titius T. Tatius regi,*" but this is quite unnecessary. It will be observed that Tacitus corrects this misstatement in *Annals*, i. 54, cited in preceding note, where he correctly tells us: "*Titus Tatius retinendis Sabinorum sacris sodales Titius instituerat.*"

² *Polyclitos, Patrobios.* See i. 37; i. 49, *ante*.

³ *Prodigis epulis et sumptu, gula ganeaque satiare inexplebiles Vitellii libidines.* The accumulation of words is used by Tacitus to fix and rivet our attention on the bestial gluttony of Vitellius. See Suetonius, *Vit.*, xiii.: "*Hanc quoque exsuperavit ipse dedicatione patinæ, quam ob immensam magnitudinem clipeum Minervæ πολιοῦχου dictitabat.* In hac scarorum jocinera, phasianarum et pavonum cerebella, linguas phœnicopterorum, murenarum lactes, a Parthia usque fretoque Hispanico per navarchos ac triremes petitarum, commiscuit."

⁴ *Noviens milliens sestertium.* 900,000,000 sesterces, equivalent to about £9,000,000 sterling.

⁵ *Varia et pudenda sorte agebat,* "rang all the changes in the compass of infamy" (R. Y. Tyrrell).

⁶ *Tertiæ legionis.* The Third Legion had led the revolt as described in cap. lxxxv., *ante*: "Transgressa in partes tertia legio exemplum ceteris Mœsiæ legionibus præbuit."

⁷ *Epistulis,* "a letter." Tacitus uses *epistulæ* in the same sense as *litteræ*.

⁸ Aponius Saturninus, governor of Mœsia, had been an ardent supporter of Vitellius. His attempt to murder Tettius Julianus, who had espoused the cause of Vespasian, is detailed in cap. lxxxv., *ante*.

legion only, they said, had mutinied, whereas the rest of the army were staunch in their loyalty. Vitellius, too, adopted the same style to the soldiers, and inveighed against the recently discharged Prætorians,¹ whom he charged with being the disseminators of these lying reports, and declared that there was no fear of civil war; but he suppressed the name of Vespasian,² and scattered his soldiery through Rome to check the popular gossip,³ which battened all the more on this restraint.

XCVII. Still he summoned auxiliary troops from Germany, Britain, and Spain, but in a dilatory fashion, seeking to veil the pressure put upon him. The legates and provinces were quite as slow; Hordeonius Flaccus,⁴ inasmuch as he already suspected the Batavians,⁵ and was apprehensive of war in his own province; Vettius Bolanus,⁶ because Britain was in a state of chronic feverishness; while both these legates were⁷ of doubtful allegiance. Neither did Spain bestir herself, as she had no resident⁸ consular. The lieutenants-general of the three legions there enjoyed co-ordinate authority, and, as they would have been ready⁹ to compete in¹⁰

Apathy of Germany, Britain, and Spain. Popularity of Vitellius in Africa.

¹ *Prætorianos nuper exauctoratos*. The recently discharged Prætorians, who had been put on full retiring allowance—*addito honestæ missionis lenimento*—as described in cap. lxvii., *ante*, where see note.

² *Suppressio Vespasiani nomine*. Compare cap. lxxiii., *ante*: “*Nam etsi vagis et adhuc incertis auctoribus erat tamen in ore fama que Vespasianus ac plerumque ad nomen ejus Vitellius excitabatur.*”

³ *Qui sermones populi coercerent*. Compare iii. 54, *post*: “*Prohibiti per civitatem sermones, eoque plures ac, si liceret, vere narraturi, quia vetabantur, atrociora vulgaverant.*”

⁴ *Hordeonius Flaccus*. See cap. lvii., *ante*: “*Cura ripæ Hordeonio Flacco permissa.*” For an account of his character, see i. 9, *ante*; iv. 24. 27, *post*. He was finally put to death by his soldiers (iv. 36. 55, *post*).

⁵ *Suspectis jam Batavis*. Soon to rise under their illustrious chieftain Civilis.

⁶ *Vettius Bolanus*. Sent to Britain (cap. lxx., *ante*) in the stead of the refugee Trebellius Maximus.

⁷ *Uterque ambigu*. For this use of the plural adjective with *uter*, Meiser compares iii. 35, *post*: “*Uterque Vitelliani fuerant*”; also iv. 34: “*Dux uterque . . . defuere.*”

⁸ *Nullo tum tibi consulari*. We have already seen that Cluvius Rufus was allowed by a stretch of the prerogative, to hold his governorship of Spain, although *non-resident*. See cap. lxx., *ante*: “*Cluvius comitatus principis adjectus, non adempta Hispania, quam rexit absens exemplo L. Arrunti.*”

⁹ *Certaturi*, “would have been ready to compete.”

¹⁰ *Ad obsequium*, “in servility.” For this use of *ad*, Heræus compares i. 79, *ante*: “*Nihil ad pedestrem pugnam tam ignavum*”; also *Annals*, vi. 8: “*Ut quisque Seiano intimus, ita ad Cæsaris amicitiam validus.*”

servility had the star of Vitellius been in the ascendant, so, now that he was down, they joined hands¹ in shrinking from him. The legion and auxiliary infantry, raised by Clodius Macer² in Africa and then disbanded by Galba, was now again to be re-enrolled by order of Vitellius; and at the same time the general body of youth in that country enlisted with alacrity, for Vitellius³ had proved himself an upright and popular proconsul there, whereas the rule of Vespasian⁴ had been disreputable and odious. The allies drew a corresponding forecast of their respective reigns, but the result belied their reckoning.

XCVIII. At first Valerius Festus,⁵ the legate, honourably furthered the zealous efforts of the provincials; but he soon wavered, and, while ostensibly supporting Vitellius in his official correspondence and edicts, he cultivated Vespasian in secret despatches, reserving himself for the adoption of either party according to its development. Some soldiers and centurions passing through Rætia and Gaul were captured with despatches and edicts of Vespasian in their possession, and were sent to Vitellius and put to death, but the majority escaped notice,⁶ concealed either by loyal friends or their own ingenuity. In that way the designs of Vitellius were discovered, while Vespasian's plans were kept almost quite dark at first, through the inactivity of Vitellius; but eventually the

A model trimmer, Valerius Festus. The north-west trade-winds.

¹ *Ex æquo*. The antithesis to *certaturi*. They joined hands in turning their backs upon the fallen man.

² *In Africa legio cohortesque delectæ a Clodio Macro*. This passage corroborates the reading of the Medicean MS. in i. 11, *ante*: "Africa ac legiones in ea interfecto Clodio Macro contenta qualicumque principe." The legions were III. Augusta and Macriana Liberatrix. See i. 11, *ante*, and note.

³ *Integrum illic ac favorabilem proconsulatum Vitellius . . . egerat*. Suetonius, *Vitel.*, v., corroborates this.

⁴ *Famosum invisumque Vespasianus*. Suetonius, *Vesp.*, iv., states the very contrary, but Tacitus is more trustworthy.

⁵ *Valerius Festus*. A relation of Vitellius. See iv. 49, *post*: "Sed tum legionem in Africa regebat Valerius Festus, sumptuosæ adolescentiæ neque modica cupiens, et adfinitate Vitellii anxius."

⁶ *Fefellere*, "escaped notice." Here *fallere* is taken in its absolute sense, like the well-known line in Horace, *Epist.*, i. 17. 10:

"Nec vixit male, qui natus moriensque fefellit."

In this sense it corresponds to the Greek *λανθάνειν*, as in *Ædip. Rex*, 415:

Καὶ λέληθας ἐχθρὸς ὦν
Τοῖς σοῖσιν αὐτοῦ νέρθε κατὰ γῆς ἄνω.

passes of the Julian Alps¹ were blocked with outposts, and all communication was cut off. The trade winds,² too, favoured a voyage to the East, but hindered a return thence.

XCXIX. At length, when³ the foe was bursting into Italy, Vitellius, appalled by the dread news from every quarter, ordered Cæcina and Valens to the front.⁴ Cæcina was sent on in advance, but weakness delayed Valens, who was only just recovering from a severe illness. Far different was the aspect of the German army on its departure from Rome. Strength had forsaken their bodies and enthusiasm had passed from their souls; their march was slow and their ranks were full of gaps;⁵ their arms were damaged⁶ and their horses spiritless; the soldiers could not brook⁷ the heat, the dust, the weather, and as they were anything but keen⁸ for endurance or toil, they were all the

Deterioration and demoralization of the army. Intended treachery of Cæcina.

¹ *Pannoniæ Alpes*. The Julian Alps, closing Italy on the north-east. A road led over this range from *Aquileia* to *Pætovio* (now Petau), in Pannonia.

² *Etesiarum flatu*. The north-west trade winds, which blow from the 20th of July for thirty days or more, referred to in *Annals*, vi. 34, where Mr. Furneaux alludes to the famous account in Herodotus, ii. 20, of the *ἐτησίαι βοῆται*, as well as to Pliny, *N. H.*, ii. 47, 127, and Curtius, vii. 4. 19. Mr. Godley aptly quotes Cæsar, *B. C.*, iii. 107: "*Etesis tenebatur, qui Alexandria navigantibus sunt adversissimi.*"

³ *Inruptione hostium*, "when the foe was bursting into Italy:" the ablative of time. I cordially agree in this with Meiser and the translation of Roth: "*beim Einbruch der Feinde.*" Meiser appositely refers to i. 89: "*motu Vindicis*;" ii. 5: "*exitu Neronis*;" ii. 59: "*adpulsu litoris.*" I therefore cannot accept the commentary of Heræus, who says that *inruptione hostium* is "abhängig von *exterritus*."

⁴ *Expedire ad bellum*. The Medicean MS. has *expediri*, corrected by Acidalius into *expedire*, which, as we have already seen (i. 10; i. 88), is used by Tacitus in the absolute sense of going on an expedition.

⁵ *Rarum*, "full of gaps;" "*lückenhaft*"—Heræus, who cites conclusively iii. 25, post: "*Rariore jam Vitellianorum acie, ut quos nullo rectore suus quemque impetus vel pavor contraheret diduceretve.*"

⁶ *Fluxa arma*, "their arms were damaged." Compare cap. xxii., ante: "*Neglecta aut vero fluxa cominus adgredi.*" Meiser refers to Livy, xxi. 40. 9: "*Quassata fractaque arma, claudi ac debiles equi.*" The same critic observes, "*Minus recte alii interpretari videntur: schlotternde Waffen—ut Gerber et Greef in Lexico Taciteo, s.v. 'Fluxus' explicant—de laxis membris pæne delabentia, schlaff herabhängend.*"

⁷ *Impatiens solis pulveris tempestatum*. O ye critics! how can you have all forgotten Horace, i. 8?—

"Lydia, dic, per omnes

Te Deos oro, Sybarin cur properes amando

Perdere; cur apricum

Oderit campum, patiens pulveris atque solis?"

⁸ *Quantumque hebes . . . tanto . . . promptior*. Of this use of a precedent positive followed by a subsequent comparative, examples will be found in *Annals*, i. 57, 68; iii. 46; vi. 45; xii. 11,—all cited by Heræus.

readier for dissension.¹ A further cause of all this was Cæcina's inveterate craving for popularity, as well as the lassitude of one enervated of late under Fortune's lavish caresses, or perchance² it was part of his plan, intending traitor as he was, to sap the spirit of his army. Many believe that his loyalty had been shaken by the intrigues of Flavius Sabinus,³ who employed Rubrius Gallus⁴ as his intermediary to notify that the terms of treachery would be ratified by Vespasian. At the same time, they reminded him of his hatred and jealousy towards Fabius Valens, so that, feeling himself ousted by the latter from the favour of Vitellius, he might seek influence and power at the hands of Vespasian.

C. Cæcina, after Vitellius had embraced him and loaded him with marks of distinction, left Rome, and sent forward part of his cavalry to occupy Cremona. ^{Cæcina's treachery.} Next followed detachments⁵ of the First,⁶ Fourth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Legions; then came the Fifth⁷ and Twenty-second Legions; while the rear was closed by the Twenty-first Legion, called "the Rapids,"⁸ and the First Italian Legion, together with detachments from the three legions in Britain⁹ and a *corps d'élite* of auxiliaries. After Cæcina's departure, Fabius Valens

¹ *Discordia* is the bad blood between the soldiers themselves; *seditio* is mutiny against their superior officers.

² *Seu perfidiam meditantī.* Horace's favourite grace of omitting *seu* in the first limb, and prefixing it to the second limb of a stanza, is familiar to us all—as "sive tu mavis Erycina ridens."

³ *Flavius Sabinus*, brother of Vespasian.

⁴ *Rubrius Gallus* (see ii. 51, *ante*).

⁵ *Vexilla*, "detachments." As already pointed out all through this book, the *vexilla* are the colours of detachments as contradistinguished from the eagle of the legion and the *signa* or standards of the *maniples*.

⁶ *Primæ.* That is, I. Germanica.

⁷ *Quinta.* The famous V. Alaudæ, held in such high repute that Marcus Antonius accorded them the privilege of acting as *judices* or *jurors*, having been already invested with the franchise by their idol Julius Cæsar. Suetonius, *Julius Cæs.*, xxiv. See Cicero, I. *Phil.*, c. 8: "Addo etiam judices manipulares ex *legione Alaudarum*; aliter enim nostri negant posse se salvos esse." See also Cicero, *Ad Att.*, xvi. 8 (B.C. 44), where that patriot informs his friend that Anthony was marching upon Rome *cum legione Alaudarum*. See Smith's *Dict. Ant.* (new edit.), vol. i. p. 96, title "Alauda."

⁸ *Una et vicensima Rapax* (see *ante*, ii. 43, and note on "Rapax").

⁹ *Trium Britannicarum legionum.* II. Augustæ, IX. Hispanæ, XX. Valeriæ (iii. 22, *post*; ii. 75, *ante*).

wrote to the army¹ he had so long led² to the effect that they should await him on the road, as both Cæcina and himself had agreed upon this course. But Cæcina, who was on the spot, and therefore master of the situation, pretended that that plan had been changed, so that all their forces might be concentrated to meet the surging onset³ of the foe. The legions accordingly got orders to hurry forward to Cremona, while a contingent was to proceed to Ostiglia. Cæcina himself deflected to Ravenna, under the pretext that he wished to address the fleet there. Presently a secluded spot⁴ was selected at Padua for a private interview to settle the terms of betrayal. For Lucilius Bassus, although he had been promoted by Vitellius from a cavalry command to be admiral of the two fleets at Ravenna and Misenum, nevertheless, because he had not been advanced forthwith to the captaincy of the Prætorian Guard, was now ready to satiate his unwarrantable spirit of anger by an act of shameful treachery. We are in the dark as to whether he drew⁵ Cæcina down into crime, or whether, as all villains are pretty much the same,⁶ both were actuated by the same baseness.

CI. The annalists⁷ of this period, who during the domination

¹ *Exercitui*. The army of Lower Germany, V. Alaudæ, XV. Primigenia, XVI. Gallica.

² *Ductaverat*, "he had so long led." *Ductare* is a word frequently used by Sallust, as in the *Cataline*, xi. 5; xvii. 7. In the time of Quintilian, however, it had grown into desuetude as being *κακῆμπαρον*. See Quint., viii. 3. 44: "*Ductare exercitus et patrare bellum apud Sallustium dicta sancte et antique deridentur a nobis, si dis placet, quam culpam non scribentium quidem iudico, sed legentium.*"

³ *Ingruenti bello*, "the surging onset of the foe." Compare iii. 34, *post*: "Ingruente in Italian Hannibale;" also Virgil, *Æn.*, viii. 534, 535:

"Hoc signum cecinit missuram diva creatrix,
Si bellum ingrueret."

⁴ *Patavi secretum componendæ proditiōis quæsitum*. *Patavi* is the local genitive, and is not governed by *secretum*, which latter governs *componendæ proditiōis*. For instances of this construction, see iii. 49, *post*; also *Annals*, vi. 30; xii. 24. *Secretum* conveys the double meaning of a secret place and a private interview. See ii. 4, 7, *ante*, "*petito secreto*;" and also i. 22: "*secreta Poppææ*"—her boudoir.

⁵ *Traxeritne Cæcinam*, "whether he drew Cæcina down into crime." A striking corroboration of our interpretation of the "*tractus in abruptum*" of i. 48, *ante*, p. 30, where see note.

⁶ *Quod evenit inter malos, ut et similes sint*. Quoting Homer, *Odys.*, xvii. 218: *Ὅς αἰεὶ τὸν ὄμοιον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὄμοιον*.

⁷ *Scriptores*, "annalists," not "historians," who, as so beautifully described in i. 1, *ante*, should be "*incorruptam fidem professi*." These annalists were Pliny the Elder (iii. 28, *post*), the author of the *Natural History*; Vipstanus Messalla (iii. 9,

of the Flavian family compiled a record of this war, have, with the dishonesty of flatterers,¹ assigned as the motives of these men an anxiety for peace and true patriotism. I, on the contrary, believe that, apart from their innate want of principle² and their loss of character for honesty after the betrayal of Galba, in a spirit of rivalry and jealousy, lest others might supplant them in the favour of Vitellius, they destroyed that emperor himself. Cæcina overtook³ the legions, and sought by various artifices to sap the feelings of the centurions and soldiers, who clung with tenacious loyalty to Vitellius. Bassus found the same task less difficult, inasmuch as the fleet, mindful of their recent services for Otho, were easily shifted in their allegiance.

Partiality of
contemporary
chroniclers.

28; iv. 42, *post*); Cluvius Rufus, described in i. 8, *ante*, as “*vir facundus et pacis artibus, bellis inexpertus*.” Cluvius Rufus was the common source from which Tacitus, Suetonius, and Plutarch gleaned their facts. The chronicles of Cluvius Rufus most probably terminated with the death of Vitellius. So Heræus: “Eine Hauptquelle aber war für ihn die Geschichte des *Cluvius Rufus*, welche wahrscheinlich mit dem Tode des *Vitellius* abschloss, und auch die Memoiren des grossen Heerführers *Suetonius Paulinus* mögen wohl von ihm zurate gezogen sein.”

¹ *Corruptas in adulationem causas*. The converse of the “*incorruptam fidem professis*,” of i. 1, *ante*. Hence they were mere chroniclers or annalists.

² *Levitatem*, “want of principle;” “Charakterlosigkeit” (Heræus).

³ *Cæcina legiones adsecutus*. That is, after his treacherous negotiations at Padua.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.



II.—84.

“Non jus aut verum in cognitionibus, sed solam magnitudinem opum spectabat.”

“In these fiscal *inquisitions* he regarded neither *law* nor *fact*, but simply the size of his victim’s purse.”

COGNITIO EXTRAORDINARIA.

“*Omnia autem judicia aut legitimo jure consistunt aut imperio continentur*” (Gaius, iv. 103).

Mr. Edward Poste, in his admirable treatise on the commentaries of Gaius, observes in the third edition, at p. 542—

“*Imperium* and *jurisdictio* were the two component parts of *officium jus dicentis*, i.e. the power of the magistrate (consul, prætor, curule edile) charged with the administration of civil justice.

“Of these two elements, *jurisdictio* denoted the power (perhaps originally vested in the Pontifex) of administering the civil law in the ordinary course of procedure. It consisted chiefly in presiding over the preliminary stages of litigation, and in the period of *legis actiones* was summed up in the utterance of the solemn words, “Do, Dico, Addico;” but in the formula period it was performed, not by oral utterances, but by the delivery of written documents (*verbis conceptis*). In genuine litigation it was called *jurisdictio contentiosa*; in fictitious litigation, e.g. manumission by *vindicta*, alienation by *in jure cessio*, it was called *jurisdictio voluntaria*.

“*Imperium* as coupled with the administration of civil

justice ("imperium quod jurisdictioni cohæret," *Dig.*, i. 21. 1), or as including it ("cui etiam jurisdictio inest," *Dig.*, ii. 1. 3), was called *imperium mixtum*, as opposed to *imperium merum*, or *gladii potestas*, the administration of criminal justice. *Imperium mixtum* may be divided into two functions, (1) *cognitio extraordinaria*, and (2) *actiones honorariæ*.

"(1) Magistrates invested with *imperium* had the power of issuing commands (*jus decernendi*), to which they enforced obedience by fine (*mulcta*), distress (*pignus*), and imprisonment, and, as a preliminary to issuing a command (*decretum*), of summoning parties before them (*vocatio*) by means of a lictor, and conducting in person an investigation of facts (*causæ cognitio*). To these functions of the prætor must be referred *Restitutio in integrum*, *missio in possessionem*, and other proceedings which the prætor decided in person without reference to a *judex*, a form of procedure which finally superseded the *ordo judiciorum*, or formulary system."

Mr. J. B. Moyle, in his commentary upon the Institutes of Justinian, observes at page 642 of vol. i.—

"Though the 'ordo judiciorum privatorum,' or system under which judicial proceedings were divided between magistrate (*jus*) and *judex* (*judicium*) was the regular mode of trying suits for centuries after the abolition of statute-process, cases not unfrequently occurred which the prætor reserved altogether for his own cognisance, and heard throughout and determined without reference to a *judex*; in these the *cognitio* was said to be 'extraordinaria,' i.e. outside the 'ordo' or usual procedure."

In a note at page 627 of the same volume, the learned editor remarks—

"For purposes of convenience, it is assumed that the case is sent for trial before a single *judex*. Often, however, it was heard by a number of judges sitting together, who were then called *recuperatores*; though it is quite uncertain what kinds of cases were usually treated in this manner. It is hardly necessary to warn the reader against confusing the Roman *judex* with an English judge. The former was merely a private citizen, appointed by the prætor after amicable selection by the parties,

to determine certain *issues* of law and fact in accordance with the evidence laid before him. Towards the end of the republican period the office, which had previously been thought an honour, came to be regarded as a burden; and this led to the institution by Augustus of an 'album judicum selectorum,' from whom the judges had to be chosen, and who were compelled to hear cases sent to them by the prætor."

It will be thus seen that under the ordinary laws of Rome, like those of our own country, the great juridical maxim prevailed—

Ad quæstionem juris respondent judices, ad quæstionem facti respondent juratores.

A Roman *judex* was virtually equivalent to our *juror*, and so in the days of constitutional Rome the great constitutional principle of dividing law and fact between the Bench and the jurors prevailed.

When the decline and fall of the Roman empire had set in, we find that this great constitutional distinction was destroyed by Diocletian in A.D. 294, when that emperor abolished the formulary procedure, and thenceforth required all questions, both of law and fact, to be heard and determined by the magistrate alone.

It should not be forgotten that Tacitus was prætor under Domitian, and therefore writes with all the skill of an expert. He uses the word *cognitio*, which describes the inquisitorial power of the prætor. Thus illuminated, we have a vivid picture of Mucianus sitting *alone* in these fiscal inquisitions, regarding neither *law* nor *fact*—*jus aut verum*—but simply the size of his victim's purse. Our readers may well remember the language of Cicero, *Or.*, 34. 121: "Res facit controversiam aut de vero aut de recto aut de nomine."

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